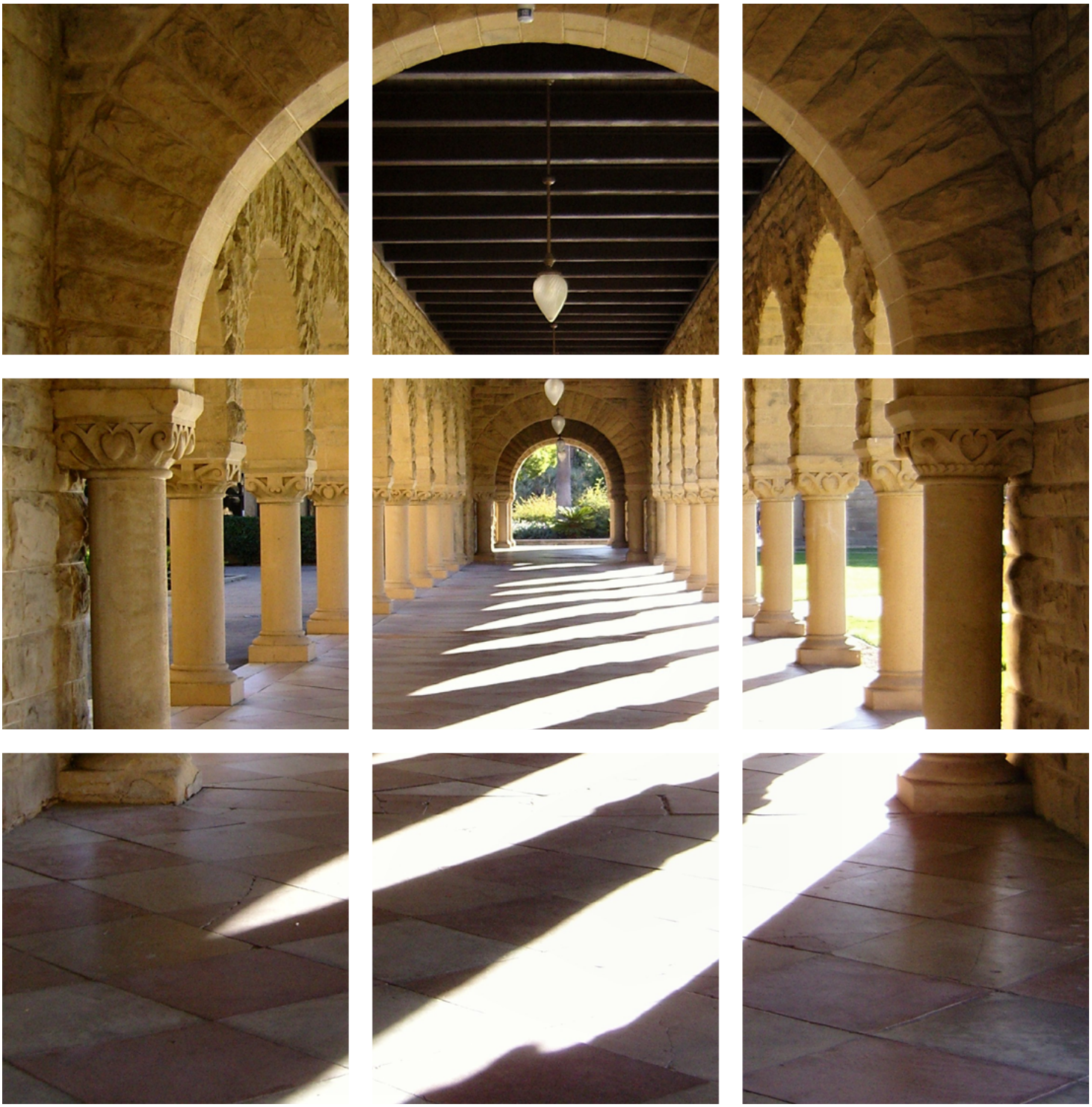

RUPTURE AND REPAIR

A report by the Stanford Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian Communities Committee

May 2024

With Gratitude:

This report would not have been possible without the time, insi hts, and care of so many Stanford community members. We are deeply rateful for and humbled by every sin le person who participated in listenin sessions and meetin s, who responded to emails and phone calls, who provided edits and said “How can I help?” Durin what has been a harrowin time, you enerously shared your knowled e and your uidance, your vulnerability and your stren th. It has been our privile e and honor to be in community with you. Thank you for bein candles in the dark.

MAP Committee Members

Abiya Ahmed (co-chair, staff, alum)
Alexander Key (co-chair, faculty)
Firas Abuzaid (alum)
Natalie Jabbar (staff and alum)
Nadia Roumani (staff and alum)
Shirin Sinnar (faculty and alum)
Four consultants and researchers (under raduate and raduate students)

وأنت تحرّرُ نفسك بالاستعارات، فكّر بغيركَ
مَنْ فقدوا حقّهم في الكلام
وأنت تفكّر بالآخرين البعيدين، فكّر بنفسك
قُلْ: ليتني شمعةٌ في الظلام

مقتبس من "فكّر بغيرك" لمحمود درويش

While you are writin your metaphors, think of others
who have lost their ri ht to speak.

When you think of others far away, think of yourself
Say: “If only I were a candle in the dark”.

–from “Think of Others” by Mahmoud Darwish

“I don’t really have a home right now other than this dorm room.”
Undergraduate from Gaza

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Executive Summary

This report details a substantial rupture of trust between students, staff, and faculty in the Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian (MAP) communities and Stanford in academic year 2023-24. These communities have felt afraid for their safety, unseen and unheard by university leadership, and silenced throu h a variety of formal and informal means when they assert the ri hts and humanity of Palestinians. This rupture has been compounded by a lon er history of Islamophobia, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian sentiment that stretches throu h and beyond Stanford.

In sprin 2024, the question of Palestine remains one of the most pressin political issues of the day, both in our university and on the lobal sta e. A core mission of Stanford is to "educate tomorrow's lobal citizens" by enablin students to "en a e with bi ideas, to cross conceptual and disciplinary boundaries, and to become lobal citizens who embrace diversity of thou ht and experience." This past year, numerous Stanford staff, faculty, and administrators have devoted si nificant time and effort to honorin these values despite extraordinary scrutiny from Con ress, national media, alumni, and others.

Yet the findin s of this committee indicate that Stanford has not lived up to this mission. The university has undermined speech, teachin , and research on Palestine. For Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian community members, Stanford's decisions have diminished their sense of equality, inclusion, and belon in on campus. These decisions have also sent a messa e to the whole university that Palestine is an exception to Stanford's stated mission: a topic that one cannot study, discuss, or teach without potentially dama in one's future.

In this report, we detail, based on hundreds of hours of listenin sessions with students, staff, faculty, and alumni, the challen es of bein a member of Muslim, Arab, and/or Palestinian communities at Stanford. In many cases, these challen es extend to students, staff, and faculty of any identity who ali n themselves with or en a e the ri hts of Palestinians. We show how these challen es are linked to persistent suppression of speech on Palestine;

underrepresentation of community members in conversations that matter; a scarcity of scholarly expertise in Palestinian and Arab studies; and institutional discomfort with the diversity of opinion and expertise that does exist on campus.

The report makes the followin core findin s:

- Students from MAP communities experienced dozens of incidents that undermined their sense of safety and belon in , includin physical assaults, threats, and harassment. Althou h Stanford responded appropriately to some of these incidents and provided security in response to student requests, on many occasions students felt that the institutional response was insufficient iven the severity and persistence of incidents.

- Speech suppression occurred throu h a variety of formal and informal means. In some cases, administrators explicitly tar eted speech supportive of Palestine on the basis of its viewpoint in violation of the university's obli ations to protect freedom of speech and principles of academic freedom. Administrators levera ed existin time, place, and manner restrictions on speech—and created new ones—to limit discourse around Palestine.

- Staff felt especially vulnerable, with little clarity re ardin the scope of academic freedom and speech protections available to them and inconsistencies in the application of norms and policies.

- Stanford has not called in riot police or invited mass arrests to forcibly clear student encampments; in that respect, it is doin better than many other universities that created spectacles of punishment to placate external pressure. University leaders permitted the Sit-In to Stop Genocide to remain in White Plaza for nearly four months, enablin students to learn and teach one another in what became the lon est sit-in in Stanford history. However, Stanford criminalized peaceful student protests when it facilitated the arrest of 18 students who disrupted an event durin Family Weekend and who were then cited with misdemeanors.

- Students, staff, and faculty who en a ed in Palestine activism feared the administration's own surveillance and its implementation of disciplinary measures, which exacerbated their sense of insecurity.

- Calls for "civil discourse" on university campuses often reflect a suspicion of student activism, a distrust of speech outside the boundaries of institutional orthodoxy, and opposition to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). Stanford needs a paradi m of vibrant discourse, not civil discourse. Our proposed framework fosters skills-buildin for disa reement, expands and enriches university conversations, and honors students' own discourse and activism.

- Stanford lacks scholarly depth in Palestinian and Arab studies. While it has made substantial pro ress in hirin faculty in recent years who study Islam, there are exceedin ly few tenured or tenure-track faculty who focus on the Arab world. This ap not only puts Stanford behind its peer institutions in producin research and knowled e, but also leaves the university with few tenured—and therefore protected—faculty who can lead difficult conversations on Palestine.

- While Stanford has diversified its student population si nificantly, members of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities remain scarce amon faculty, staff, and institutional leadership. This lack of representation often leads to "unforced errors" in decisions that have implications for these communities.

- Stanford has done well in establishin some institutional structures—such as the Abbasi Pro ram in Islamic Studies and the Markaz Resource Center—that support MAP communities. Without these units, students, staff, and faculty would have had an even more challen in year. However, these units remain understaffed and overextended, hi hli htin the need for permanent and reliable financial investment.

- MAP community members consistently noted that Stanford's official communications since October 2023 were asymmetric with respect to Palestine despite the university's stated commitment to institutional neutrality and restraint. Moreover, these communications often presented lopsided covera e of this historical moment and sometimes conflated or collapsed MAP identities, such as assumin that all Palestinians are Muslim.

Stanford took an important step forward in creatin this committee and was, to the best of our knowled e, the first university to do so after October 2023. In accordance with our char e, **this report aims to uplift, honor, and learn from the lived experiences and words of community members. It also highlights that, even as they feel that tanford does not always treat them as integral to the work of the university, they see themselves as part of tanford and are invested in the institution.** With that in mind, we recommend substantial reciprocal investment from Stanford to move toward repair: in policies and decisions to protect and expand speech; in faculty to teach and research; and in structures to support and empower.

But most importantly we use this report to recommend that Stanford live up to its stated values. In theory, the university has committed to the principle that its **"central functions of teaching, learning, research, and scholarship depend upon an atmosphere in which freedom of inquiry, thought, expression, pu lication and peacea le assem ly are given the fullest protection. Expression of the widest range of viewpoints should e encouraged, free from institutional orthodoxy and from internal or external coercion."**

But when challen ed by some of the most difficult moments for universities in North America, and buffeted by national political pressures, Stanford chose what one senior leader we spoke to described as a new "McCarthyism."

The Palestine exception illuminates the ap between Stanford's stated values and its actual practices. This is a moment for the university to take a hard look at *who* makes the policies, *what* values the policies are conveyin to its students, faculty, and staff, *where* these policies are bein levied inconsistently, *why* these policies are harmin certain members of the university, and *how* these policies can be reima ined. We believe this will make the university better not just for MAP communities but for people across all corners of Stanford.

This report provides detailed recommendations on safety, freedom of speech, vibrant discourse, scholarship and knowled e production, representation and structural support, and communications. We provide one-year, five-year, and ten-year oals to uide the university as it implements these five core tasks:

1. **Eliminate the Palestine exception to free speech and expression throughout the university.**

2. **Broaden opportunities for speech and engagement by revising time, place, and manner restrictions curtailing student speech and by expanding freedom of speech and academic freedom for all community members, not just tenured faculty.**

3. **Cultivate vibrant discourse even on controversial topics by recruiting a diversity of representation, experience, and knowledge among students, staff, and faculty. Continue to invest in structures that support this diversity.**

4. **Invest in new tenured faculty and units engaging Palestine and Arab tudies for the long term, and in the short term leverage existing expertise and create exchange programs to bring greater scholarship to tanford.**

5. **Listen to and honor in-house expertise and community leaders when working on decisions and communications that affect the campus and its diverse communities, particularly during moments of crisis.**

Methodology

Our data collection took place over a period of seven months between November 15, 2023 and May 15, 2024. Our analysis is based on qualitative interviews, analyses of relevant reports and documentation, and archival examination. We conducted listenin sessions with close to 200 Stanford community members, includin students, staff, and faculty across all schools and units, as well as alumni and parents. A few of these sessions were roup meetin s, while the majority were 1:1 interviews, each lastin between 60-120 minutes. We also conducted a close textual analysis of university communications durin this time period, delved into Stanford archives for the le acy of protest at our university, and read hundreds of news articles that focused on this moment in relation to hi her education in order to contextualize Stanford within the national conversation.

We released an interim report in February 2024, and incorporated extensive feedback on our initial recommendations. We met with university committees and units representin other communities and workin on related issues, includin Stanford's Subcommittee on Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias and the Ad Hoc Committee on University Speech. We also shared drafts and sections of this current report with stakeholders throu hout the process of writin . Incidents of concern have continued to occur after the end of our data collection period and will be addressed by the committee oin forward.

"You don't hear us sayin that we don't feel safe because we are constantly in a state of actionable unsafety. We et threatened. We et hit by cars. We et shot in this country. We et shot in our country. We fled our country. Feelin s in eneral are somethin that you don't talk about all the time if you come from a war zone, not just Palestine." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"How do I make myself small enou h–to make people comfortable? What if I make someone else uncomfortable? What if I et shot for what I'm wearin ?" ***MAP Graduate Student***

"The safety of our students means divestin . The reason why they are in psycholo ical pain is because of the enocide Palestinians are dyin from. There is a direct link to what the university is doin and the mass slau hter of students' families." ***Alum***

"I am afraid. I can't say anythin . I don't want to et kicked out of this place." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"I was afraid to leave the house, honestly." ***MAP Staff***

Safety

Accordin to a December 2023 report by CAIR National, more than 2,000 incidents of Islamophobia and anti-Palestinian hate have been reported in the United States since October 7, 2023, a **172 percent increase** from the same time period the year before. A Pew Research Center poll in February 2024 also found that 70% of American Muslims feel that discrimination a ainst them has increased since October 2023, and 53% say that today's events make them feel afraid. In addition, a recent poll by the Institute for Social Policy & Understandin (ISPU) found similarly increased levels of discrimination a ainst Muslims, with Muslim students in hi her education especially impacted. Some of the most e re ious incidents of anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian hate and Islamophobia have happened to students on or around colle e campuses. At our own campus on November 3, 2023, an Arab Muslim student reported bein struck by a car whose driver shouted "F--- you and your people" as he sped away. That incident caused widespread fear on and off campus. Not too lon after, three Palestinian students were shot in Vermont on November 25, 2023.

The national context and the climate are symptomatic, as we noted in our interim report, of the fact that Islamophobia persists in the United States and here at Stanford, with varyin manifestations. In the current context, it has intersected sharply with anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias, with Islamophobic tropes deployed in the Israel-Palestine discourse to suppress pro-Palestinian speech and activism. Moreover, in this intersection, Islamophobia has ironically become the "low-han in fruit" whereby some institutions, le islative bodies, and politicians are able to easily support Muslims while ne lectin anti-Palestinian or anti-Arab bias. **For this reason, it is key to disaggregate Islamopho ia from anti-Palestinian sentiment when thinking through the discussions in this report.**

At Stanford, too, MAP students, staff, and faculty hi hli ht bias and hate in the form of both Islamophobia and anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias. As we noted in the interim report, Stanford has much work to do if we want to meet our oals on inclusion and belon in , diversity of thou ht, and access to the opportunities the university offers.

INCIDENTS OF BIAS AND HARM

For as lon as there have been Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian members at Stanford, there have been anti-Palestinian/anti-Arab or Islamophobic incidents experienced by this community. While the committee could not undertake a comprehensive audit of this history, students, staff, and faculty ave us many examples of this harm across many decades:

- Sittin throu h asymmetric course material that orientalizes and trivializes the Middle East or Islam or that teaches Palestine only in the context of terrorism
- Absorbin microa ressive comments such as a first-year student askin his new roommate on move-in day, upon learnin that he is Muslim, "If you convert, will they kill you?" or a faculty member tellin a student in her research roup that, "Islam is a reli ion for stupid people because doin Ramadan starves and shrinks your brain"
- Navi atin a relentless low thrum of hostility and prejudice a ainst MAP community members, as evidenced by articles as old as a 1928 article in the *Stanford Daily* entitled "Must Understand Desert to Know Arab Says Hulme," all the way to a recent *Stanford Review* piece framin humanities professors, raduate student unions, and student activists as radical extremists who are behind a "recent flourishin of terror fetishism"
- Bein doxxed as a result of pro-Palestinian activism, leadin to threats on career opportunities, sexual violence, or death, and to termination of employment
- Bein doxxed for standin up a ainst Islamophobic speakers bein invited to the university, such as when several students questioned Stanford's decision to host the widely known anti-Islam extremist Robert Spencer in 2017, only for Spencer to post photos and videos of those students on his blo , labelin them as fascists.

Returnin to our current moment, Stanford's Protected Identity Harm (PIH) system recorded more than 50 incidents of anti-Palestinian/anti-Arab bias or Islamophobia between October 2023 and May 2024, ran in from assault to battery to theft. This indicates at least a **900% increase** from the combined total incidents reported in two prior academic years (one in 2022-23 and four in 2021-22).

Moreover, the committee has ood reason to believe that the real number of incidents in 2023-24 is actually much hi her: in cross-referencin the PIH reports with incidents we learned of durin our listenin sessions, it became clear that many were not reported. Many MAP students never bothered usin the PIH system to file rievances on harm because they already had no trust in the system and thou ht it would be pointless. Others believed filin a report would make them a tar et and raise their profile with the administration. Those students who initially did take the time to file PIH reports radually stopped doin so because they felt the system offered no accountability or recourse.

The Stanford Dail

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1928

OCK "S" GIVEN PETE DESJARDINS BY EX COMMITTEE

te Desjardins, who won first place pring-board diving and in high and fancy diving at the 1928 npics, was awarded a Block "S" the Executive Committee at its ting last night. Desjardins also s the international diving cham- ship for the 1924 Olympics, and many national records. He is a ber of the class of 1931, and es from Miami, Florida.

rd Harris was appointed Junior tball manager in the place of Hare who did not return to ol, and Dean Sweeney was chosen olf manager in the stead of Louis er who is not enrolled this quar- Both these men were alternates e case of the absence of the men chosen, and were recommended e Committee by Al Masters.

stribution of the loose-leaf adver- s on the campus was ordered ped, according to Article III, Sec- 3, Paragraph (e) of the By-Laws e Constitution to which attention called in the Daily editorial, "The dex' Affair," published yesterday ing.

JURED TROJAN GRIDMEN HOBBLE ON S. C. CAMPUS

S ANGELES, Oct. 16. (AP)—A more injuries, and Coach Howard s will have to hire a hospital to take his Trojan football team

Must Understand Desert To Know Arab Says Hulme

Heat Stimulates Mind, Body, But Nature Does Not Stir Imagination

"To understand the Arab it is necessary to understand the desert," declared Professor Edward Maslin Hulme in his lecture on "Life Among the Arabs of French North Africa" last night in the Assembly Hall.

"Heat of the desert stimulates the mind and body of man rather than depresses him," he said, "but gives him nothing to think of in nature. There are no trees, no pools, no clouds or human associations, and unqualified light everywhere. It fails to nourish the emotions and imagination, and as a result the Arab cannot think logically and consecutively.

"No good social qualities are found among these desert men. They are individualists and realists, looking at life objectively and lacking in imagination and social solidarity. But many of their personal qualities are fine. They are artists in manners, courteous, and with a marked poetic strain, while at the same time the desert has made them courageous, wary, and alert. They love the desert, and none are so homesick separated from their homeland as these people.

"Desert sands are constantly threatening to swallow the oases, as they are sifted by the winds. So in the same way the Arabs are destructive, impulsive, and moved by whims. The Arab never acts on the basis of ethi-

QUALIFYING ROUND OF MURAL GOLF IS WON BY FRED OLSEN

First Round of Championship Scheduled To Be Held Tomorrow Afternoon

Fred Olsen of Kappa Sigma ran away with first place honors in the qualifying round of the intramural golf tournament, which came to a close yesterday afternoon, when he turned in a card of 78, two strokes lower than his closest opponent, R. T. Paine, of Alpha Tau Omega, who scored 80. Olsen shot the last 9 holes in par.

Following are the teams which qualified, with their total medal score: First flight — Beta Theta Pi, 166; Kappa Sigma, 168; Breakers, 169; Phi Gamma Delta, 170; Theta Chi and Alpha Tau Omega, 173 each; Encina 2W, 174; and Los Arcos, 177. Second flight—Alpha Sigma, 178; Delta Chi and Phi Kappa Psi, 179 each; Sigma Nu, 180; Encina 2, 182; Chi Psi, 186; Theta Xi, 189; Delta Tau Delta, 196.

Thursday the first round of the championship flight will be played, Monday of next week the semi-finals, and the finals Tuesday. The winners of the first four places in the first flight will receive 15, 10, 5, and 3 points respectively, a special round being played to decide the winners of third and fourth places. The winner of the second flight will receive one

Stanford Hoover Club Will Meet In Union Tonight

Littler of Republican State Central Committee to Be Chief Speaker

Stanford Hoover supporters will be given an opportunity to pledge their support and actively participate in the Hoover campaign at a Stanford-for-Hoover Club meeting to be held at 7:30 o'clock tonight in the lobby of the Old Union. All Stanford students who are in sympathy with the Hoover movement are urged to attend and a special invitation is extended to the women.

Robert Littler, member of the California Republican State Central Committee, will be the principal speaker of the evening. Herbert Wenig will also speak, and the meeting will be presided over by Philip Cavalero, president of the A.S.S.U.

According to Littler the purposes of this meeting are to bring the Hoover supporters on the campus into closer association and by an active campaign to show that the majority of Stanford students are Hoover supporters.

"The formation of the Smith and Thomas groups on the campus is a direct challenge to Stanford men and women who favor Herbert Hoover's candidacy," said Littler.

At tonight's meeting the actual vote-getting campaign will be started. Pledge cards, Hoover stickers, and pins will be distributed, and committees will be appointed. A committee

SMITH DIS OF EC

DAVIS CUTS OF PLAY T

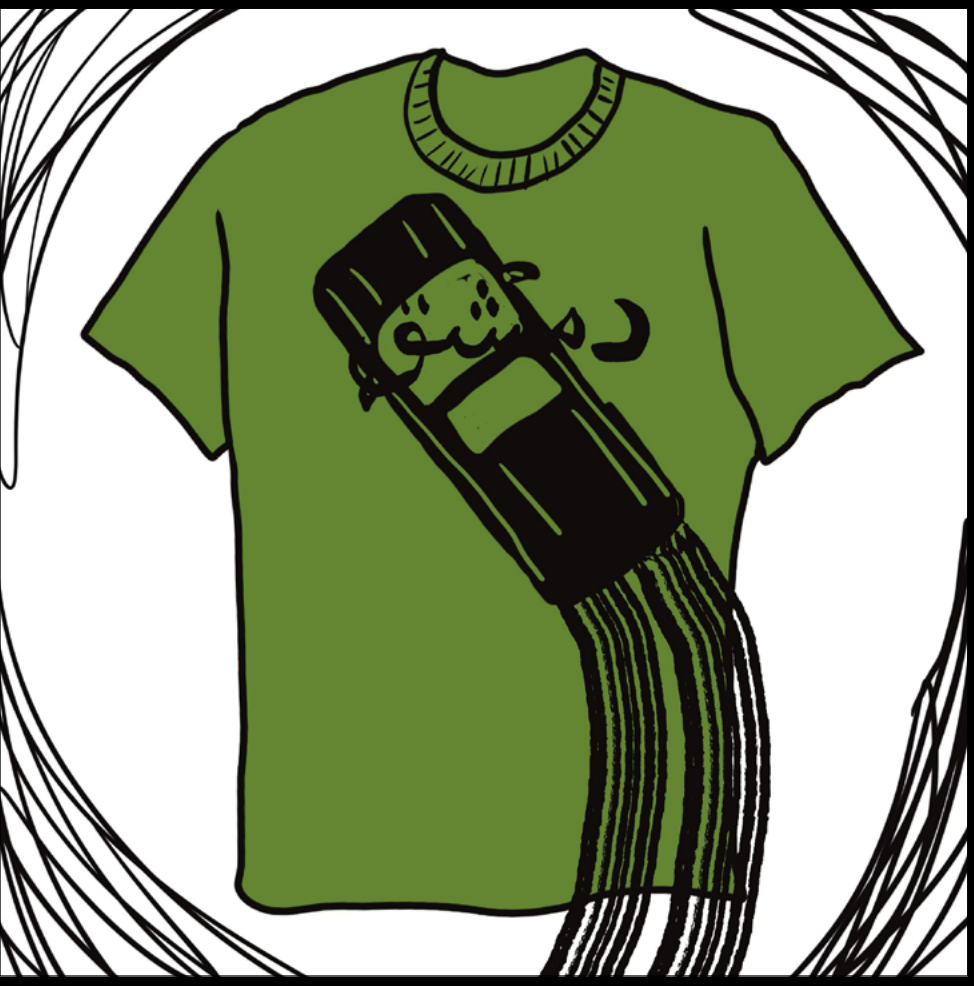
Sixty-one aspirants Sword and Sandal's pl in the Cheese," still r ticipation in the third matic tryouts tonight matic tryouts at 7 o'c the Assembly Hall, as Gordon Davis.

He requests all thos appear below to mee that time, for he is to the nine leads, but a friends, girl friends, herds, a few cannibal servants, and a gorilla

The four women to tryouts are: Louise Ewing, Julia Merrit Thompson.

Fifty-seven men are pear. They are: Leo Robert Burns, William Camp, Wayland Capw rington, Robert Cathea Lyle Cook, H. W. Da Laird Doyle, H. Foxt Feliz, Donald Fletcher Gaillard Fryer, Burnet laz Gregg, Milton Han samen, Bertrand He Henry, Arthur Hurt.

Leo Kibby, Robin K Kirkwood, Henry Kle Leonhardt, Robert Lev Ben Maddox, George



REPORTED HARM INCIDENTS

A snapshot of some of the reported harm incidents experienced by MAP community members since October 2023. This list represents types of incidents reported to PIH, as well as those shared in listenin sessions but not reported to PIH.

Physical Assault

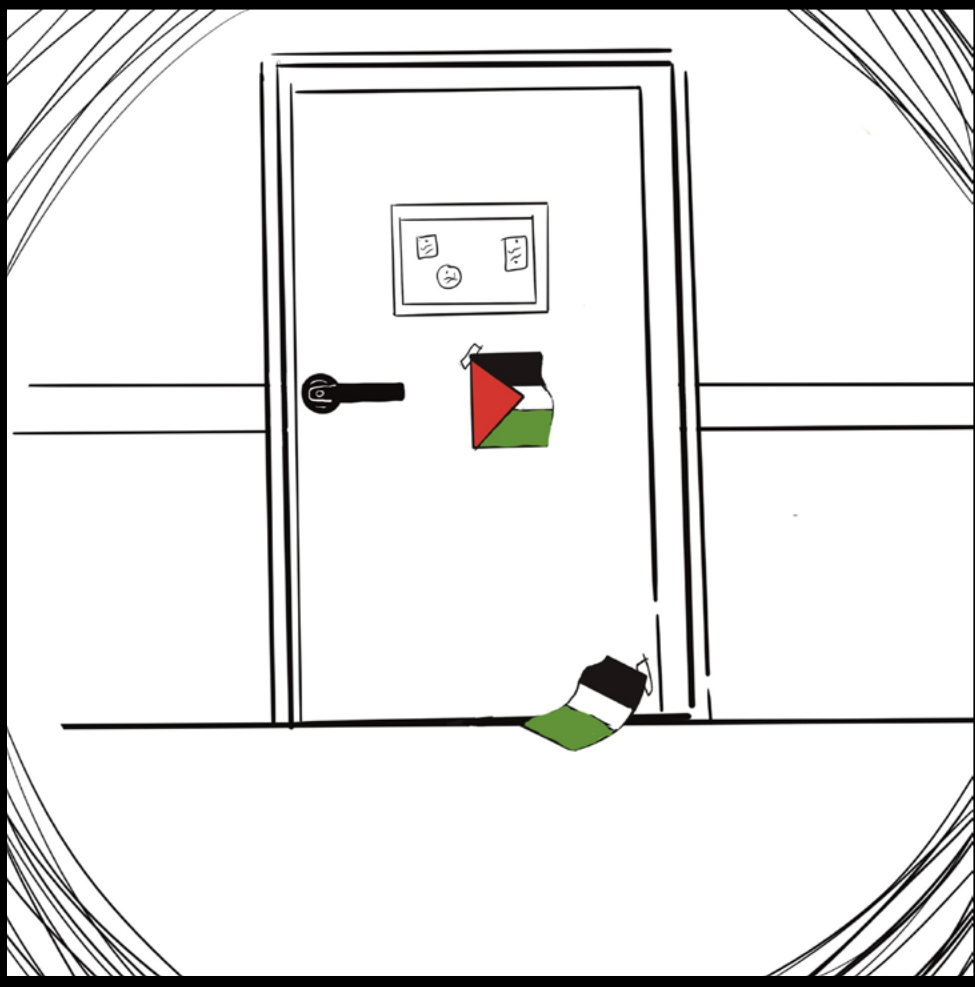
On November 3, 2023, an Arab Muslim student reports being struck by a car whose driver shouted "F--- you and your people" as he sped away. That incident causes widespread fear on and off campus.

Physical Assault

Two students who identify as members of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities report being followed and shoved by an undergraduate when they were attempting to remove and add posters around White Plaza.

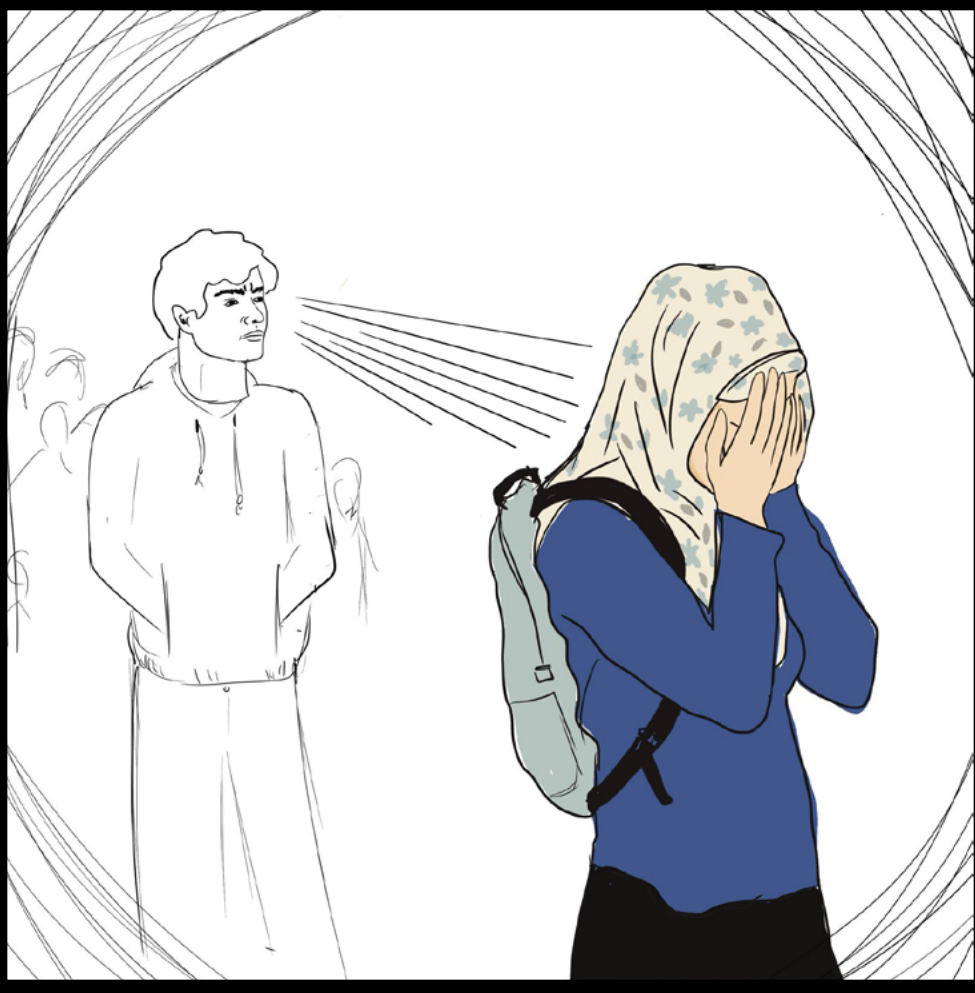
Destruction of Property

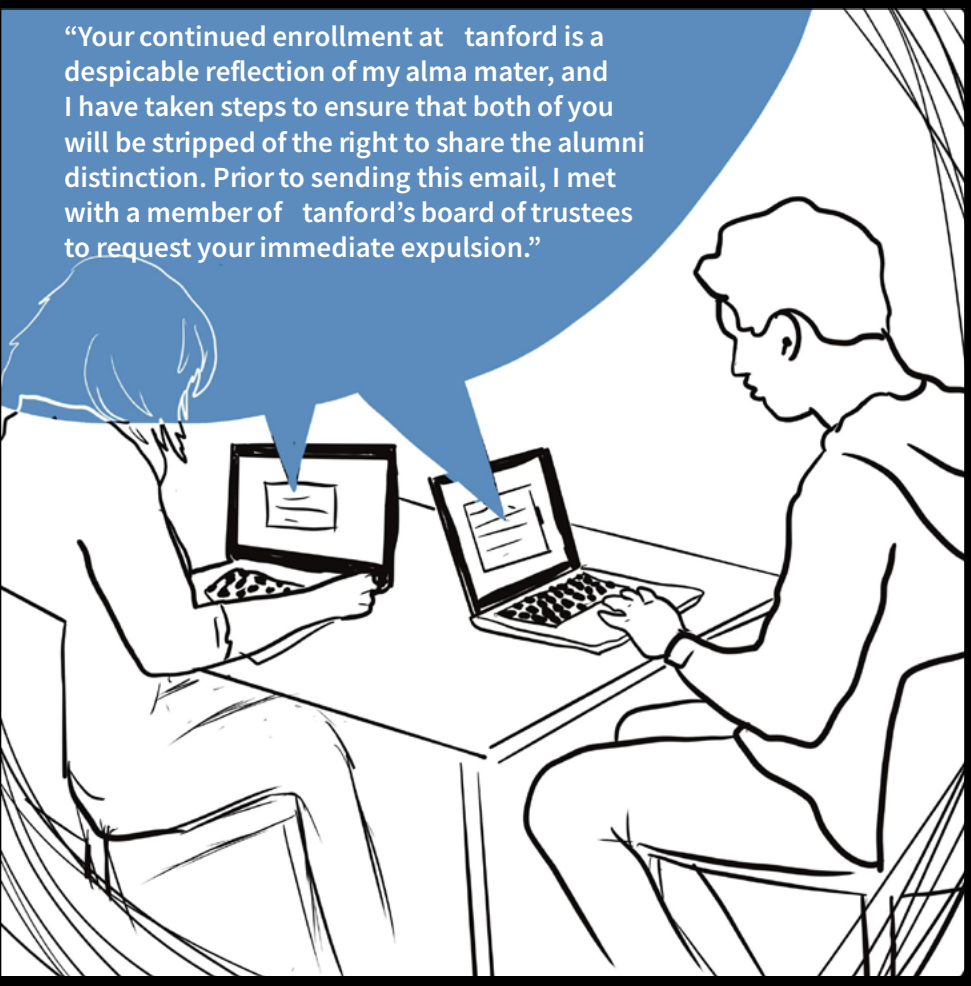
A printed-out Palestinian flag is taken off a graduate student's campus residence door and ripped in half.



Intimidation

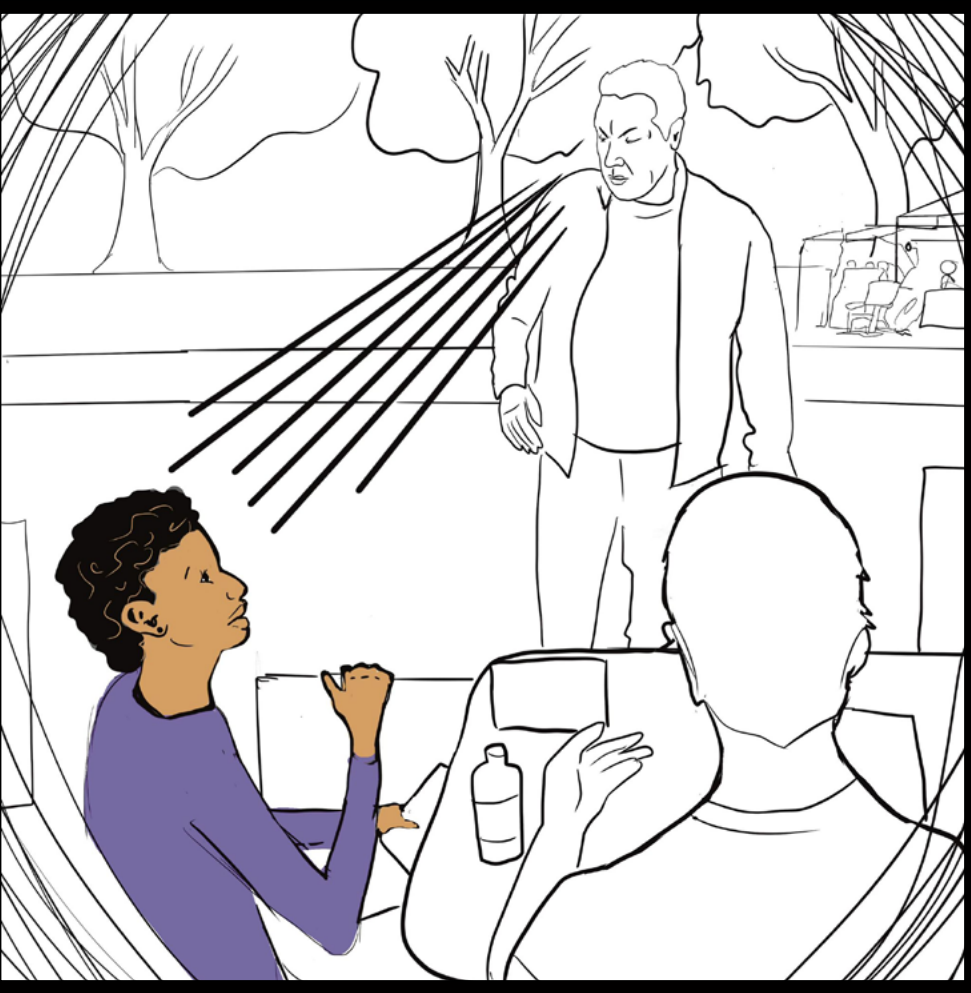
A female hijabi student reports being followed twice by two different male-identified people on campus.




“Your continued enrollment at tanford is a despicable reflection of my alma mater, and I have taken steps to ensure that both of you will be stripped of the right to share the alumni distinction. Prior to sending this email, I met with a member of tanford’s board of trustees to request your immediate expulsion.”

Online Harrassment

Two tudents for Justice in Palestine undergraduate members receive a threatening email from a tanford alum. The subject of the email reads “College Terror List - You Made It!” The alum writes, “You are complicit in the rape, murder, decapitation, and execution of Jewish civilians. Religious extremism has no place in this world, let alone in the United tates of America.”



Ver al Assault

1) A tanford professor gets close to students at the sit-in until security intervenes, loudly stating things like,“I think you do the work of Islamic jihad and Hamas and Iran—people that murder and torture gays and women, and you are their useful idiot.”

2) A student of color is tabling at a display for Palestinian liberation at White Plaza when a person walks by, says “disgusting,” and attempts to spit on the student.

Intimidation

While preparing for a vigil, students at the sit in spot a suspicious truck driving around campus in central locations. The Truck has skulls and crossbones, and banners that read "UNITED TATE CAVALRY." Additionally, it has caution tape and a message in Arabic on the back that, when translated, reads: "stay 100 feet away or prepare to be shot." On its sides, the truck has a picture from a nonprofit in Los Altos called .U.A. . Veteran Crisis.

Deli erate Provocation

After the it-in To top Genocide begins, a Jewish community member chalked hateful antisemitic messages in White Plaza, attempting to implicate students at the sit-in. Images of those messages are circulated online with more than 2.3 million views and calls for expulsion of the sit-in participants. tudents write to the administration asking them to publicly clarify the matter. While the president addressed it in his remarks at the faculty senate, no public clarification was made.

THE CONCEPT OF SAFETY

Even before October 2023, "safety" has been a contested concept in hi her education, confi urin centrally within tensions between DEI and academic freedom, or between free speech/expression and harm. For instance, some commentators draw distinctions between bein safe and feelin safe, or between "di nity safety" and "intellectual safety." While we do not offer a precise definition of the term, we do reject conceptions of safety that equate exposure to difficult or challen in ideas with a lack of safety.

We start from the premise that safety is a state of bein and feelin that is shaped by many forces. We believe all students deserve to thrive on campus in a safe institutional context that cultivates their belon in , while also fosterin a vibrant intellectual discourse with diversity of thou ht and disa reement. As the examples above reflect, many members of MAP communities on campus have shared experiences of both bein unsafe and feelin unsafe. While a basic sense of safety is a precondition for almost anythin else that the university aspires to do, it has eluded many in these communities.

Holistically understood, safety cannot be fully achieved without a university achievin a ran e of other objectives: **mem ers of a community must feel that they elong, communication must e consistent and transparent, people must feel free to speak, institutional structures must e in place to support intellectual and emotional well- eing, and there must e a scholarly environment that reinforces respectful and open exchange.** Above all, community members, particularly students, must feel that they can trust the university and that the university cares about them. For this reason, we address safety explicitly in this chapter, but every other chapter (Freedom of Speech, Vibrant Discourse, Scholarship and Knowled e Production, Representation and Structural Support, and Communications) speaks just as much to this issue for MAP communities on campus.

MAP SAFETY AT STANFORD

In a post-October 2023 national and Stanford context, MAP students and community members consistently conveyed to us a lack of safety, attributin it to a number of factors: bias and hate incidents on campus, dele itimization and disciplinary action, and surveillance, all workin to ether to make MAP communities feel harmed and unsafe, impair their trust in the institution, and ultimately result in a decreased sense of belon in at Stanford.

Stanford has stated on multiple occasions that its paramount concern is the safety of its students and campus communities–includin MAP communities specifically. Unfortunately, our listenin sessions with MAP students, staff, faculty, and alumni repeatedly conveyed that these roups did not believe that the university's decisions reflected that value.

They felt the institution was either using safety as an excuse to shut down speech or it was not giving enough weight to MAP students' own experience of the causes of lack of safety and the kind of institutional responses that might help alleviate harm. They also noted a tendency toward "both-sides-ism" and asymmetry in communication that we detail in the relevant chapters to follow.

We repeatedly heard that Stanford leadership did not take steps that community members believed would protect their safety, and that leadership's claims to prioritize safety thus struck them as disin enuous. The committee does not doubt the enuine commitment of Stanford's leadership to keepin all its students safe and well. However, our inquiries revealed a lon series of institutional decisions about safety measures that did not improve the safety of the MAP community. MAP students, staff, and faculty often point to unsatisfactory responses to their concerns over safety, especially in comparison to more public and proactive responses to enuinely concernin incidents of antisemitism on campus. Accordin to them, Stanford claims to support all of its students on an equal basis, but has failed to be symmetrical in its support for MAP students.

"Their [Stanford's] support for pro-Israeli Jewish students is pu lic and institutional, and for us it is private and individual." MAP Undergraduate

DELEGITIMIZATION AND DISCIPLINARY ACTION

In addition to active and explicit harm and lack of safety students experienced throu h hateful incidents and bias perpetrated by other Stanford students, faculty, and community members, MAP students and allies also told us that specific action (or lack thereof) undertaken by Stanford administrators also led to them feelin unsafe on campus.

Students who be an the Sit-In to Stop Genocide in October 2023 noted that the president and provost initially refused to meet with them until December 2023. They felt that this was the first si nal from the Stanford administration devaluin their activism and protest, despite a lon and storied history of Stanford students mountin sit-ins and other peaceful protests in support of various political causes. As a senior administrator told us, "The delay in the president and provost meetin the students was really dama in ." Additionally, students noted that their protest was further dele itimated when they were notified of disciplinary action if they did not end their overni ht campin by November 6, a threat that was later retracted.

Students were then permitted to stay until February 2024, when the university cited safety concerns after a storm to announce that the sit-in would have to disband within hours of the announcement or face disciplinary sanctions and potential trespass charges.

Sit-in to Stop Genoci e

Students, staff, and faculty told us that they appreciated the president and provost allowin the sit-in to persist and en a e in free expression on White Plaza for as lon as it did; **the sit-in ecame the longest ever in Stanford history, continuing for 120 days until it ended.**

But the end of the sit-in was not well mana ed. The students had committed to end overni ht campin per their a reement after a week of ne otiations. Due to a reported shootin threat on campus, they asked for additional time from administrators to be able to clear the sit-in themselves and archive their documentation. Accordin to them, administrators a reed to this over a phone call, and based on this students believed that they had until late mornin or afternoon the followin day to clear all structures and possessions. However, workers were sent before dawn to clear the encampment, which resulted in substantial distress and reinforced distrust. This administrative misstep was avoidable.

In the absence of the sit-in as a form of protest and with continued devastation and attacks in Gaza, student activists protested on Family Weekend in late February durin a welcome session with the president and provost. Ei hteen students were escorted out of the auditorium by the Department of Public Safety (DPS), and doubly penalized by subsequent citations throu h Santa Clara County as well as Office of Community Standards (OCS) proceedin s.

In April 2024, durin Admit Weekend, a roup of pro-Palestinian students or anized a rally that then resulted in a second sit-in known as the People's University for Palestine. This occurred as similar encampments across the nation (and later lobally) were erected to draw attention to the devastation in Gaza. At Stanford, 60 students at the encampment were iven a warnin letter that any violation of university policies could result in disciplinary action or arrest. The followin day, at least nine students were issued letters notifyin them that they were in violation of university policy and had been referred to OCS. Over the next few days, more students were iven OCS letters.

Office of Community Standards (OCS) Processes

In the past and especially after Stanford student Katie Meyer's tra ic death, calls have been made to revisit the OCS process and its impact on students. The process was, in fact, updated in May 2023 with a new Student Conduct Charter put in effect for cases filed after May 2, 2023. Based on the initiation and proceedin s of OCS in the current moment, we contend that the process needs another ood look, especially around identification, transparency, and timeliness. Without adjudicatin the decision to issue the OCS letters, here we want to address the how and why: that is, the process of identifyin students who were iven those letters and the motivations behind it.

On Friday, April 26, the first round of issuance of OCS letters stemmin from the new encampment resulted in immense confusion and distress. **Students were unclear—and, as of this writing, some of them continue to e unclear—a out what specific policy they violated, if any at all.** They knew the encampment was a violation of policy, but could not understand why that particular roup of students had been selected to receive OCS letters. They sou ht advice from staff at the Markaz Resource Center and indeed from this committee to determine how to proceed, notin that there was a si nificant ran e of involvement amon those issued letters; some had actively participated in the encampment, while others had limited or even no involvement at all. One student who was issued an OCS letter was not even on campus and, in fact, out of town durin the rally and encampment set-up. Their case was later withdrawn, but the dama e had been done, as they had a particularly difficult time conveyin the information to their parents, who were already mournin the loss of family in Gaza:

"The call I made to my parents to tell them I was in disciplinary trou le with the university was awful and will stay with me forever. Talking to grieving parents a out it and adding to their already overflowing plate was a particularly low moment, to e honest. It didn't really help when the OCS office contacted me the next week to say my case had een withdrawn; they didn't tell me why. I feel like they targeted me in the first place ecause I had een active in student organizing in the past."

As a faculty member remarked: "They just rounded up the usual suspects, it's an old technique."

This is some of the other student feedback we heard:

- "I don't know what the [OCS] lo ic and decision makin process was. Is pickin up a box and movin from point A to B 'establishin an encampment'? What about adjustin tape? Settin up a tent? How is what I'm specifically doin disruptin the university's specific function? You need to tell me what I did."

- “I knew Katie [Meyer]...I know how it feels.”
- “This ‘due process’ is a veil. The true punishment is the obfuscation of everythin and the waitin and frankly the psycholo ical torture that this is unfoldin and knowin that I’m at the mercy of this institution. The len thiness of the process, the lack of transparency…I know they just want to make an example of a few people.”
- “They’re just penalizin me because I was part of the previous sit-in. I had nothin to do with this one.”

The committee was informed that camera foota e, eyewitness testimonies, and social media posts were used to identify the students. But as more than one senior administrator told us, “one mistake is one too many.”

The misidentification of at least one student alon with the lack of clarity around specific violations of other identified students created si nificant distress. The way this process played out, combined with a eneral climate of institutional distrust and mar inalization, led students to conclude that Stanford identified and issued OCS letters based on racial or reli ious identity or past activism for Palestine or other mar inalized roups. This conclusion was shared by a coalition of external civil ri hts roups that wrote to university leadership expressin their concern on May 20, 2024. The confusion also spoke to the eneral lack of clarity about the OCS process, voiced by ASSU leadership as recently as November 2023.

Perhaps more trou ling, several of the senior leaders and administrators to whom we spoke connected the decision to press OCS charges against students to continued pressure from mem ers of the roader Stanford community on and off campus. Political pressure should never be a motivatin factor in penalizin students, iven that the penalties, the len th of the process, and lack of clarity around it can have devastatin implications for students. Policy enforcement systems and conduct processes must not only be careful, transparent, and fair, but also tri ered solely by an assessment that their deployment is warranted on the merits of a case, not based on appeasement of external pressure.

Concern over the OCS process is compounded by the fact that OCS inquiries have not been pursued at certain times over seemin policy violations involvin actual threats to safety. For example, a Palestinian student was asked by another student who had served in the Israeli military which villa e their family was from in Palestine. The student did not share the information, but the former IDF soldier said that he reco nized their last name from a particular villa e and told them that “if I look up this last name when I’m back in Israel… just know…”, indicatin somethin threatenin .

"I feel so incredibly policed and watched and monitored by this university. And I hate feelin like that in a place that I'm supposed to be callin this home. I'm 3k miles away from home, and I'm supposed to feel safe here. I hate that I don't feel safe expressin and fi htin for what I believe in. I hate that administrators who used to show up at the sit-in tryin to convince us that they were once on our side are the same people hurtin us now." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"At the bare minimum: Why is Stanford not openly talkin about indefensible acts of hate on our campus? [...] Currently people et their concern about campus climate from anonymous apps and it feels very isolatin to not have our school to say that there is hate on this campus to us specifically." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"We reported it to report it, but you're still ettin the death threats and phone calls. They lasted a week."
MAP Undergraduate (Immediately after October 7)

"I think there's a specific kind of psycholo ical distrust that results from Stanford not makin it clear to us when stuff happens that campus could be an unsafe place." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"This is oin to lead to more silence, more MAP staff sayin this is not the place for me, I'm scared to be here, I don't feel supported, maybe I need to o elsewhere with my skills." ***MAP Staff***

When the Palestinian student told administrators what had happened, they asked if the Israeli student had pulled out a un. As he had not, they told the Palestinian student that there was nothin administrators could do.

A substantive OCS process initiated by administrators may have been appropriate in this case, but to our knowled e, no such process was initiated. "True threats" of violence are outside the scope of First Amendment-protected speech, and investi atin them does not violate Stanford's obli ations to protect speech. True threats involve "'serious expression[s]' conveyin that a speaker means to 'commit an act of unlawful violence'" and require that a speaker was at least "aware 'that others could re ard his statements as' threatenin violence and 'deliver[ed] them anyway.'" In context, the student's statement could have met this standard. It is probable that, if determined to do so, an IDF reservist enrolled at Stanford could inflict serious harm on a fellow student's family members upon returnin to active service in Israel. We are concerned that, to the best of our knowled e, members of the Stanford community with relevant knowled e and expertise were not consulted before this case was closed. Once a ain, the committee notes an asymmetry in the process that correlates with identity and viewpoint.

SURVEILLANCE

"This has een a heavily surveilled institution; [Stanford] should wonder whether or not they are overdoing it." –Law student

Closely related to the OCS process and the question of safety is the issue of surveillance of MAP students and allies: bein constantly watched, questioned about their activities, or havin their activism disproportionately monitored made them feel especially vulnerable and under threat. MAP students and allies conveyed that they felt surveilled both by the campus police (DPS) and by Stanford administrators and staffers. In almost every sin le conversation with under raduate students, they mentioned people photo raphin them and the installation of new cameras.

Even prior to October 2023, MAP communities, like many mar inalized communities, have had a cautious relationship with DPS at Stanford. Keepin in mind the criminalization and surveillance of these communities post 9/11, students have enerally opted for minimum DPS en a ement and presence around their atherin spaces (such as at the Markaz or at student events) unless absolutely necessary.

In the very be innin of October 2023, this trend continued. Students opted not to have DPS presence in or around the Markaz or at their events. Followin an increase in harm incidents in October 2023, such as the assault of Arab and Palestinian students and threatenin emails and messa es, MAP students a reed to a level of DPS or security presence around the Markaz, at the sit-in,

and at their events. Given prior concern about DPS, this willin ness to accept some level of police presence itself indicates how unsafe many MAP students felt on campus.

In November 2023, the Markaz helped facilitate a meetin between DPS and students to address issues related to safety, such as how AlertSU notifications are sent out and how DPS responds to PIH reports that are referred to them for possible safety issues. This communication helped build a measure of trust between some community members and DPS. Many students also came to appreciate the presence of Apex Security, a private contractor Stanford utilizes, around the sit-in, especially after the establishment of the Blue and White Tent and in li ht of the steady harassment of sit-in students with anti-Palestinian and Islamophobic slurs.

However, students continued to be cautious about police presence, which was au mented by the fact that new cameras were installed in White Plaza. It also did not escape their attention that there was a disproportionate police and administrator presence and response when MAP students were involved in or anizin rallies or protests. This was affirmed by several administrators who noted that Stanford's application of policies operates in different ways for different identity roups, with one observin :

"With Jewish student events the tone is, 'How can we protect (from Muslims, protesters, etc.)?'; with MAP events, it's 'How can we stop them from rioting?' They are presumed dangerous, even when outside Jewish groups have incited violence and caused harm."

Relatedly and perhaps more importantly, the students also conveyed that they felt heavily surveilled by administrators. A student involved with the ori inal sit-in told us that a senior staffer "one time walked up in front of us and had her phone out and was takin video of us." Another student noted that administrators would often walk up to the students and ask questions like, "Do you have any activism planned?" or "Are you doin any safety marshalin soon?"

In the months followin October 2023, MAP students and allies had initially trustworthy and relatively stron relationships with staff from the Vice Provost for Student Affairs (VPSA) division and the Office for Reli ious & Spiritual Life (ORSL). As a result of surveillance and policin , some of these relationships radually turned sour, ultimately resultin in a breach of trust. Much of the distrust appears to have stemmed from lar er institutional forces rather than the actions of individuals. Some staff directly referenced bein cau ht in an inequitable system that treats MAP students as unequal and pro-Palestinian advocacy as ille itimate.

“I’m eing trained y spending time at Stanford to speak in ways that do not center MAP students, who are often the most vulnera le. I have to perform some kind of internal mental Olympics to speak to their needs while not offending anyone.” Staff Mem er

Administrators told us that Student Affairs divisions at other campuses typically have a much smaller role in enforcin policies, which allows them to fulfill their primary mission of supportin the education and development of students. At Stanford, too, VPSA’s mission is exactly that. However, in recent times, VPSA has been told to lean into a policin and enforcement role, which has been confirmed by our conversations with DPS. As a hi h-level administrator told us, “That’s one way to look at it and do it but it also means **the circle of people students trust gets smaller and smaller, and the distance etween students and administration, leadership, and the university gets igger and igger.”**

The implications of this point cannot be overstated. When students feel surveilled by the very staff they are meant to trust and lean on for support, this is a problem not just for the students or staff involved but for the institution overall. It is even more of a problem when the student perception is that staff members of specific identities are levera ed by the institution to build trust, only to break it. As one student noted, “Why are you brin in someone who looks like me to police me?”

The question of who should enforce university policy, and how, remains a perpetual structural problem that ends up confusin and ultimately harmin students. The DPS Chief of Police told us that DPS’s job is to enforce the law, not university policy, and that DPS cannot detain anyone until a violation of university policy becomes a le al violation. At the same time, VPSA staff felt that their roles in policy enforcement and surveillance have interfered with their ability to support students. Compoundin this problem is a lack of transparency around the Fundamental Standard and OCS. Clarity is needed in all directions: **students need to know who will support them and who will surveil or police them under what parameters and according to which policies.**

STAFF AND FACULTY SAFETY

In addition to the safety of students, the safety of Stanford’s other core members—faculty, staff, postdocs, fellows, and so on—is also of vital concern. For these roups, as we heard in our listenin sessions, safety encompasses their physical safety, mental and emotional wellbein , and economic security—that is, their ability to feel secure in their employment.

With re ard to physical safety, those who are easily identifiable as members of MAP communities often expressed particular fear. Many Muslim women who wear a hijab have noted concern for their safety since October 2023.

"When I arrived at Stanford I kept completely quiet about Palestine, despite havin lived and worked there for a number of years before academia. I worried about those jobs appearin on my LinkedIn pa e and did not teach, research, or si n protest letters about Palestine for seven years. When students asked me to talk to SJP [before I had tenure], I declined out of concern for my career." ***Faculty***

"Staff as a broad population have felt repeatedly dismissed by the university." ***Staff Member***

"At the very least, if Stanford wants to both sides it, then they need to be actually clear about what happens when it happens. I think that they need to create an environment where we feel like they are oin to take us seriously so that we can o to them when somebody harasses us." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"I don't feel like if I reported this, somethin would actually happen…." ***Staff Member***

"I have not experienced bias. But bein i nored is also bias. Havin nobody ask you how you are doin is also bias—if somethin was happenin in Ireland, I would talk to the Irish uy." ***MAP Staff***

Multiple staff members mentioned that they feel scared walkin around campus alone, especially in the dark, and ask for others to accompany them or to leave before the sun oes down (particularly in the fall and winter quarters).

But the safety concerns we heard from MAP staff and faculty only be an with physical safety. **Many report feelings of professional unsafety and unease that are rooted not in a fear of external actors ut of actions their colleagues may take within university structures.** In other words, they are afraid of their senior faculty, their supervisors, and of the systems that determine their career advancement. Simply put, they are afraid of Stanford.

Lon before October 2023, untenured faculty have lar ely viewed speakin up about Palestine as a si nificant risk with lon -term consequences. At a time when even university presidents are losin their jobs due to issues surroundin Palestine, and many scholars are bein fired or punished for their pro-Palestinian stance, that risk has only become more salient. As a result, many faculty choose not to ali n themselves publicly in any way with pro-Palestinian causes until after they have secured their future at the university. Manifestations of this self-censorship include not attendin events in support of Palestine, not si nin petitions or si nin anonymously, not postin anythin related to the issue on social media, and purposely sidesteppin any related issues in their courses.

That stron feelin of vulnerability extends to staff, who feel they have no job security no matter how lon they've been workin at Stanford, and who, as a roup, often feel like they are the university's lowest priority no matter how much they invest in their work and Stanford community. As more than one staff member told us, "I have been told that staff have no protections or ri hts here."

Staff from the MAP community pervasively express that they need to self-censor and stay silent, to "keep their head down and just do the work." Here are just a few examples of how this manifests:

- Feelin they cannot answer "How are you?" in a enuine way because everybody at work is actin like "thin s are normal"
- Listenin to superiors make offensive or insensitive comments about their identity roups and not feelin like they can respond
- Choosin not to report instances of workplace harassment
- No lon er wearin their keffiyeh or clothes with any cultural identifiers

As a result, many MAP community members feel they are constantly en a ed in an exhaustin mental ymnastics of maskin themselves in every sense of the term. Multiple staff members mentioned that they try to leave work as early as possible now and have even started to work from home more often because they feel so alienated in their workplace.

DOXXING

Althou h conceptions of doxxin vary, one common definition involves "publicly identifyin or publishin an individual's private information as a form of punishment or reven e." A fear of bein doxxed looms lar e for the MAP community and for anyone who publicly supports Palestine. This has lon been used as an intimidation method for punishin Palestine activists and has only amplified in rate, severity, and consequences since fall 2023.

This is often how doxxin plays out: An individual shares somethin in class, makes a comment in what they think is a private conversation, posts somethin on their social media feed, writes an op-ed, or attends a protest, just to name a few examples. Then a different individual, or roup of individuals, takes umbra e with their action and be ins the namin and shamin . A tar eted campai n of malicious tweets, sometimes from anonymous accounts, is posted a ainst the individual on X, or their information is shared with a site like Canary Mission. Canary Mission, established in 2014, is a blacklistin website that purportedly "documents individuals and or anizations that promote hatred of the US, Israel and Jews on North American colle e campuses." The website compiles a detailed and slanderous dossier on each student activist, professor, or or anization it tar ets, with the intention of humiliatin them and dama in their future employability.

Often these campai ns lead to a delu e of emails, messa es, or calls into the doxxed individual's life. These messa es can often include hateful lan ua e and threats of sexual violence, death threats, and threats a ainst one's family. While some doxxin campai ns are short-lived, the subsequent dama e is rarely fleetin .

The fear of bein doxxed forces many faculty—particularly untenured faculty—as well as students and staff in and allied with the MAP community to be strate ic about how they express themselves on campus, even in more private settin s. Many feel that they have to sacrifice their activism or some strands of their core identity or beliefs in order to stay safe or protect their current and future employment. They note the pain of livin a ainst their values, of harborin what can feel like a double life, of literally and fi uratively maskin .

In 2021, after the Stanford Colle e Republicans publicly attacked her in social media posts for her involvement in Palestinian activism, Stanford alum Emily Wilder was fired from the Associated Press. Janeen Zacharia, a former journalist and current lecturer in the Stanford Department of Communication who was one of Wilder's teachers, wrote, "It bore all the classic marks of a disinformation campai n. Pushin the Wilder story refocused attention from Israel's bombin of the AP bureau to a junior news associate who had just started in Arizona."

Over the years, other Stanford faculty, students, and alumni have been doxxed for their pro-Palestinian activism whether in this moment or in the past.

This includes bein listed on Canary Mission, receivin hundreds of threatenin emails, and bein smeared on social media.

Many times doxxin of members of Stanford ori inates within the university community itself. In 2018, a senior faculty member was sent death threats after two students wrote an article in The Stanford Review that called him an "antifa thu ."

In October 2023, two Palestinian under raduates were doxxed by a Stanford alum because of their involvement with Students for Justice in Palestine. The alum tweeted about them, postin their emails and phone numbers and sayin he had reported them to the FBI. He also emailed them directly, writin , "Your continued enrollment at Stanford is a despicable reflection of my alma mater, and I have taken steps to ensure that both of you will be stripped of the ri ht to share the alumni distinction. Prior to sendin this email, I met with a member of Stanford's board of trustees to request your immediate expulsion."

In a listenin session this sprin , an alum noted that she had to shut down her work website due to the constant rape and death threats she receives as a result of her very public advocacy for Palestinian ri hts.

In addition to these specific incidents, we note that nearly every MAP community member we spoke to in listenin sessions wanted to remain anonymous and that individuals turned down invitations to join the MAP Committee itself for fear of bein doxxed.

Althou h Stanford does have a policy that makes doxxin a violation of the Fundamental Standard, it defines doxxin narrowly, modeled on a California criminal law. In sprin and fall 2024, Stanford law professor Evelyn Douek is leadin a policy lab on anti-doxxin policies that will "advise the Stanford Provost's Office on the le al and policy issues raised by the doxxin of or by members of the Stanford community or otherwise related to activities on campus, and develop recommendations for how the university should respond." That policy lab will confront the complicated questions presented both in definin doxxin and in miti atin harm without violatin First Amendment principles. We look forward to en a in with these recommendations.

"I never felt safe bein either Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian in many of the spaces I entered in. MSU, Arab student association, SJP, Markaz: Those were the spaces where I felt like I could identify myself and there wasn't anybody who would anta onize my identity. In classes or other communities, I had to walk on e shells and protect their feelin s." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"The doxxin really has to stop, because it creates all these second-order effects that ultimately ruin the campus climate for everyone, whether you're pro-Palestinian or not. Because of doxxin , students retreat to anonymous social media platforms like Fizz, because that's the only outlet where they feel they can fully express themselves. But when everyone is anonymous, that just ultimately leads to more toxicity on these platforms between the students. The same thin happens in real life: every student at the encampment wears a mask because they're afraid of bein doxxed; it's a reasonable decision for them to make. But, if everyone wears a mask, no one can tell who's a student and who's an 'outside a itator'. The pervasive anonymity just ends up destroyin any semblance of community. If the students weren't bein doxxed, the campus would be a lot safer—for everyone. " ***MAP Alum***

"I don't feel like if I reported this, somethin would actually happen…." ***Staff***

"My entire dream of servin in overnment...I've eliminated that as an option for however many years. For many of us, public service and hi h profile opportunities in finance, in venture capital, and in law are no lon er options for careers. There are a bi number of Stanford alums who are ettin cau ht up in this in ways that are very insidious because they are behind closed doors." ***MAP Alum***

RECOMMENDATIONS

As stated above, the sense of safety for MAP community members is shaped by many forces and threads, includin but not limited to institutional structural support, representation, robust scholarship and knowled e production, and transparency around disciplinary processes and policy enforcement. If even one of these threads is missin , safety be ins to erode.

Safety and Policy Enforcement

Campus Security/DPS

- Clarify the process for issuin timely campus-wide emails that provide information about a potential security threat. These emails should follow consistent standards, in response to the same types of incidents, so that the onus is not on particular communities to notify their members about possible on oin threats. The university should audit its own process for issuin campus-wide emails to avoid the appearance of viewpoint or identity discrimination.

- Maintain robust and re ular communication with directly affected campus communities in makin decisions re ardin the presence of DPS officials to ensure that security presence is beneficial and not counterproductive. For instance, with community feedback, continue to provide campus security at events such as lar e demonstrations where roups with differin opinions are likely to en a e with each other.

- Ensure a swift and appropriate institutional response to serious harm incidents. For example, on Friday, May 3, 2024, a physical assault occurred durin a vi il for those who died in Gaza. DPS arrested the non-Stanford affiliate who created the disturbance and refused to leave. However, the assault occurred on a Friday evenin , and it took until Tuesday, May 7, for the university to make any mention of this incident, buryin it in a len thy White Plaza Policy update that was only sent to students.

OCS/Policy

- Improve administrative processes around enforcement, includin establishin a clear vettin process to ensure that OCS char es are not brou ht without reason, such as based on students' past involvement in campus activities or misidentifications, or due to external pressure.

- Determine responsibility for enforcin rules in a manner that does not increase DPS' role in enforcin violations of university policy, but that also does not cause student-facin staff to lose trust with students.

Because of the interconnected nature of safety, many of the recommendations that would address it can actually be found throu hout this report. That said, we offer a few recommendations here that specifically address community safety issues:

- Place a moratorium on serious disciplinary sanctions for violations of the university's time, place, and manner policies until those policies are reviewed and reconstituted with input from students, staff and faculty.

- Increase the transparency of student disciplinary processes. Expedite information sharin durin the OCS process, keepin in mind the impact on students' mental health if issued a letter. At the time a student receives a letter, they should have all the information they need, in easily accessible and di estible format, about what they are accused of and what they can do.

- Ensure that OCS processes do not lead to onerous penalties such as suspension or holds on diplomas for peaceful political speech.

Doxxing Prevention

Until the more formal recommendations emerge from the policy la mentioned a ove, the committee puts forward these suggestions:

- Allow anyone on campus to opt in to anti-doxxin services such as DeleteMe, which help remove personal information from the Internet. This should be covered by the university without question and on a preventive basis. By the time an individual is askin for anti-doxxin support, it is usually too late and their information has already been shared across the Internet. Individuals who choose to en a e in activism– or even to voice opinions in a classroom or other campus settin s–should not have to plead for this support after the fact.

- Make le al counsel or le al support services potentially available for community members when doxxin occurs. When a person has been placed on a site such as Canary Mission, online services such as DeleteMe are not sufficient to address the harm. At that point, le al support may be required to issue a cease and desist letter or take other steps.

"It feels like I'm censorin my identity." ***MAP Staff***

"In this moment, where a mar inalized roup and its allies have used voiced speech and expression to push back a ainst powerful interests, the university has in some way seemed to chan e tactics. And I think they've iven their ame away." ***Faculty***

"The sit-in was beautiful. I felt very safe there, I felt happy there, I felt seen in a way that was very precious to me at the time, at a time where I felt invisible beyond words." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"Now I have to worry that I mi ht not pass a class if the professor knows I'm Palestinian" ***MAP Student***

Freedom of Speech

"There is temptation to a system in which people holdin views perceived by some as harmful or offensive are not allowed to speak, to avoid ivin le itimacy to their views or upsettin members of the community, but history teaches us that this is a temptation to be avoided. I can think of no circumstance in which ivin those in authority the ri ht to decide what is and is not acceptable content for speech has ended well. Indeed, the power to suppress speech is often very quickly directed towards suppressin the views of mar inalized roups."
–Stanford Law School Letter from the Dean Jenny S. Martinez, sprin 2023

Around the country, universities' responses to political speech on Palestine, especially since October 2023, illuminate a lon standin "Palestine exception" to free speech. From the disbandin of student or anizations advocatin for Palestinians, to the cancellation of political events and film screenin s, to the violent police response to protests around the country, we have seen university administrators around the nation squelch speech—time and a ain—when it champions Palestinian ri hts or challen es Israeli state violence. Sometimes, administrators justify these restrictions as an effort to spare other students from discomfort; sometimes, they justify them as re ulatin the time, place, and manner of speech on campus; sometimes, they assert they are protectin campus safety.

But speech should not e suppressed simply ecause it makes other people uncomforta le; re ulations on the time, place, and manner of speech must be broad enou h to permit robust discourse and cannot be applied in a tar eted fashion; and assertions of campus safety should be supported by specific

factual evidence of actual threats, rather than reliance on all-too-common tropes of Palestinian or Muslim violence.

To some of us, it seemed that Stanford mi ht do better than other institutions because California state law extends First Amendment protections to student speech on campus, and because university leaders re ularly reaffirm the values of freedom of speech and academic freedom. In certain respects, it did, as in permittin the Sit-In to Stop Genocide to continue on White Plaza for four months. But our listenin sessions also revealed explicit viewpoint-based discrimination tar etin pro-Palestinian speech, the levera in of time, place, and manner restrictions to repress Palestine activism, and the policin and criminalization of our students for peaceful protest.

This section be ins with a brief description of principles of free speech and academic freedom, and then addresses three core concerns: **1) the explicit suppression of pro-Palestine speech on campus ased on the viewpoint expressed; 2) the overuse and misuse of time, place, and manner restrictions on speech; and 3) the policing and criminalization of student speech and activism on campus.** While we focus on examples of speech suppression that we were able to document in detail, these examples do not capture all the incidents we learned of, let alone all the incidents we believe occurred this past year. Our listenin sessions confirmed that the Palestine exception applies everywhere but presents in different modes: explicit statements and administrative decisions in the School of Medicine; informal nud es, hallway chats, and hirin /tenure decision rumors in the School of Humanities and Sciences; silences and absences in other professional schools; and persistent self-censorship by staff across all university units.

PRINCIPLES OF FREE SPEECH AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Stanford celebrates principles of free speech and academic freedom. The university has frequently championed the importance of free inquiry for the pursuit of knowled e. A 2017 statement by Stanford's past president and provost declared free expression to be "absolutely central to the academic life of the university." As dean of the law school, Provost Jenny Martinez in 2023 rejected calls to curtail speech that some find offensive or upsettin , deemin stron protections for free speech "a bedrock principle that ultimately supports diversity, equity, and inclusion." Moreover, Stanford's statement on academic freedom declares that the pursuit of teachin , learnin , and scholarship at the university depends on the "fullest protection" of freedom of inquiry and expression. That statement applies to tenure line and non-tenure line faculty and to other "members of the Academic Staff in a manner appropriate to their role and responsibilities."

Beyond these statements of values, specific le al protections for student speech apply to Stanford. Most si nificantly, the state's Leonard Law prohibits even private universities from disciplinin students solely on the basis of speech that would be protected from overnmental restriction by the First Amendment.

"Stanford University's central functions of teaching, learning, research, and scholarship depend upon an atmosphere in which freedom of inquiry, thought, expression, pu lication and peacea le assem ly are given the fullest protection. Expression of the widest range of viewpoints should e encouraged, free from institutional orthodoxy and from internal or external coercion."

—Pream le, Stanford Statement on Academic Freedom (1974)

EXPLICIT SUPPRESSION BASED ON VIEWPOINT

Bedrock First Amendment principles forbid the overnment—and therefore Stanford on account of the Leonard Law—from discriminatin a ainst speech based on its viewpoint or messa e. These principles reco nize that it is precisely speech that is controversial, challen in , or unpleasant to some audiences that is most in need of protection. However, Stanford administrators on multiple occasions have suppressed speech on Palestinian human ri hts based on its political content or lan ua e. Importantly, the incidents we describe below presented no conflict between free expression and "hate speech," nor involved speech that risked anyone's physical safety. Rather, the criticism of Israeli state violence—often, a specific labelin of such violence as apartheid or enocide—appears to have tri ered the suppression.

School of Medicine Incidents

A number of these incidents of speech suppression took place at Stanford School of Medicine. Durin winter and sprin 2024, members of the MAP Committee spent si nificant time meetin with medical school students and administrators, as well as university leadership outside the medical school, to address these concerns. Efforts to suppress pro-Palestinian speech and expressions of Palestinian identity took a heavy toll on the students and faculty or anizin these events and those of Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian identity. We recount below our understandin of these events.

1. Organization for Glo al Health (OGH) Event

In January 2024, students leadin the Or anization for Global Health at Stanford—an official medical school student or anization fully re istered with the university's Office of Student En a ement—wished to hold a webinar with University of California San Francisco clinical psycholo ist Jess Ghannam titled, "Medical Apartheid in Palestine." Students circulated an event flyer that expressly identified its sponsor—the medical school student or anization—and noted that it was "independent of Stanford Medical School and Stanford Medicine." Nonetheless, faculty and administrators at the medical school attempted to prevent the event from happenin and denied the standard institutional support provided to student or anizations for their events, includin the use of a Stanford Zoom account.

Organization for Global Health at Stanford PRESENTS
MEDICAL APARTHEID
IN PALESTINE
w/ DR. JESS GHANNAM
Join us in conversation with Dr. Ghannam, a clinical psychologist at UCSF, as we delve into a historical review of the impact of settler colonialism and apartheid in Palestine, exploring their enduring impact on health.
Thurs, January 18 | 6:30PM PT
REGISTER: tinyurl.com/medicalapartheidinpalestine
This event is being organized by the Organization for Global Health (OGH) at Stanford Medical School. It is independent of Stanford Medical School and Stanford Medicine.

The medical school had issued new policies on December 18, 2023, for holdin events and usin resources "for activities outside of official Stanford Medicine business," apparently in response to student speech related to Palestine and Israel. This policy provides that officially re istered student or anizations that have faculty sponsors can reserve space to host events. The policy does not require that faculty sponsors pre-approve the content of events that re istered student or anizations can host. This is for ood reason; a rule that required advance faculty approval of student events, based on their content, would be a prior restraint that would violate freedom of speech because of the broad discretion it ives administrators to determine which speech ets to be heard.

In this case, however, apparently at the direction of medical school leadership, the faculty sponsor told students that their re istered student or anization could not use any Stanford resources to host the medical apartheid event, forcin the students to buy an independent Zoom account to hold the webinar. In discussin the denial, the faculty member told the primary student or anizer, who is Black, that the use of the word "apartheid" in the event title "tri ered people like the N-word."

The student later shared how offended she felt at bein told that the use of the word "apartheid" to describe a country's discriminatory policies was comparable to usin an actual racial slur a ainst Black people. The term

“apartheid” ori inated as a description of South Africa’s historically discriminatory le al re ime and refers to the systematic domination of one racial roup by another; it is considered a “crime a ainst humanity” in international law and defined by international conventions includin the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Rome Statute creatin the International Criminal Court. Leadin human ri hts advocates in the United States and Israel, includin Human Ri hts Watch and Amnesty International, have concluded that the Israeli state’s subordination of Palestinians constitutes apartheid. While some may disa ree with that conclusion, or feel hurt or challen ed by the comparison to South Africa’s apartheid re ime, views on this issue should be debated, not suppressed by those in power.

The faculty member’s emails to the student or anizer were explicit both in barrin the use of Stanford resources and in attributin the decision to hi her-level leadership at the medical school. (Students made clear that they otherwise had a stron relationship with the faculty sponsor, who had enerally been very supportive of the student roup.) One email stated, “We need to ask you to remove the Stanford name and lo os [from the flyer] and we cannot permit use of any Stanford resources includin space or Stanford zoom links. I can’t sponsor an event that will be hurtful to a lar e portion of our community. I hope you understand that this event can tri er stron emotions.” That email was copied to the dean of the medical school and the senior associate dean for medical education, amon others. In another email, also copied to the senior associate dean for medical education, the faculty member told the student, “As this is not a university sanctioned event a personal zoom must be used.” In yet another email, the faculty member told the student, “The zoom issue was dictated from leadership at the school.”

Further, an email sent to the Stanford medical community on January 16, 2024, disassociated Stanford Medicine from this event and emphasized that they had “contacted the or anizers to ensure that the webinar and its promotion fully ali n with Stanford Medicine’s policies and procedures and that this independently or anized effort does not use institutional resources.” That email came from the medical school’s “task force”—a new unit composed of Stanford Medicine’s chief equity, diversity, and inclusion officer, a senior associate dean, and an associate dean of diversity in medical education. Students expressed to us their profound disappointment that the medical school had attempted to cancel this student event at the very moment that hospitals and the health care system in Gaza were bein destroyed.

2. Muslim Mental Health Conference

Moreover, just weeks after students were prohibited from usin a Stanford Zoom account to host the medical apartheid webinar, administrators sou ht to censor events on Palestine bein held as part of the 16th Annual Muslim Mental Health Conference at Stanford School of Medicine. The conference was hosted by Stanford's Muslim Mental Health and Islamic Psycholo y Lab, a unique research lab founded and directed by Dr. Rania Awaad, clinical professor of psychiatry at the School of Medicine, and sponsored by the Stanford Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences and the Michi an State University Department of Psychiatry. This year, the Muslim Mental Health lab hosted the annual conference in celebration of the lab's tenth anniversary. Over the past decade, the research lab has received si nificant support from Stanford School of Medicine and remains the only such research lab facility dedicated to Muslim mental health in the country—a credit to leadership within the Department of Psychiatry and the medical school at lar e.

The conference, however, did not receive that same level of support when it became clear that several events related to Palestine would be part of the conference. Planned for more than a year, the conference centered on the relationship between Muslims, technolo y, and mental health. In li ht of the mental health toll of the on oin violence in Gaza and the West Bank, and its repercussions within the United States, the conference or anizers decided to invite Dr. Samah Jabr, head of the mental health unit at the Palestinian Ministry of Health in the West Bank, to deliver a keynote address at the conference. A renowned Palestinian psychiatrist, Dr. Jabr had co-authored a piece on the collapse of the mental health care system in Gaza in *Lancet*, a leadin peer-reviewed medical journal, in November 2023.

Two days before the conference was set to be in, a senior faculty member in the Department of Psychiatry expressed concern about the conference bein "too political." This faculty member had lon supported the Muslim Mental Health lab, and it appeared to Dr. Awaad that these concerns came from other, still more senior, people within the medical school. In multiple meetin s that day, this faculty member reviewed the conference pro ram line by line and asked to adjust the titles of panel sessions. Most si nificantly, the faculty member told Dr. Awaad to remove the word " enocide" from the title of Dr. Jabr's keynote, "The Power of Technolo y to Promote Palestinian Resilience in the Midst of a Genocide." **The faculty mem er also said that Dr. Ja r could not call for a ceasefire in Gaza during the conference, as she had in her Lancet article.** (The *Lancet* piece ar ued that "mass medication is not the answer to war" and concluded that "the overwhelmin need now is not mental health but ceasefire.").

That same day, other people and institutions appeared to pull support from the conference. The medical school's Continuin Medical Education (CME) office, which had already approved CME credits for the conference, objected

that speakers hadn't si ned confidentiality a reements before the event—an issue that commonly arises in conferences and that is enerally quite easily remedied. The CME office requested a ran e of materials about the conference at the eleventh hour, includin slides from an event by Dr. Alice Rothchild, a retired physician and pro ressive activist, on the "health and human ri hts consequences of the war in Gaza." Senior medical school leaders pulled their pictures, names, or pre-recorded messa es of support from the conference.

In addition, medical school administrators asked for the email addresses of all 600 conference participants. When the conference leaders objected to this scrutiny, the medical school asked them to send out a messa e to all the attendees sharin the December 18, 2023, medical school policy on the use of Stanford resources—a particularly odd request iven that the policy applies to Stanford affiliates, not to conference attendees. Faced with such last-minute pressure, the conference or anizers complied with many of these requests and adjusted the pro ram titles, includin omittin the word " enocide" from the keynote. **In an especially difficult conversation, conference organizers also relayed the message to Dr. Ja r that she could not call for a ceasefire during the conference.**

The conference itself took place under surveillance, intimidatin or anizers and participants. For instance, a CME officer attended the conference, apparently to audit the event. Attendees told Dr. Awaad that this person entered and exited panel breakout sessions without introducin himself and obtrusively recorded the panelists. Several raduate students presentin at the conference came out of their panels in tears because they felt they had been under constant scrutiny—akin to the chillin surveillance many American Muslims have faced throu hout the post-9/11 period—in a conference that was meant to be upliftin and restorative. Several other staff from the medical school, who had not previously expressed an interest in attendin , also appeared to be there to monitor the conference.

While the conference went forward, and Dr. Jabr ave her keynote address, the censorship and surveillance took a serious toll on the or anizers. A psycholo ist from another institution who helped develop the pro ram shared in a blo post that the conference was "beautiful, surreal, and healin ," but also challen in due to the "relentless requests that came from various offices within our host

"The utter lack of research on Muslim healthcare issues helps make the conference stand out as a eacon of hope. I always hear a out justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion at Stanford Med in every one of my classes and as one of the defining features of the curriculum and approach here. So it's incredi ly disheartening that when my community—the Muslim community here and in Gaza—is experiencing one of their most challenging moments, one that undou tedly affects their health, the school decides to meet it with surveillance, silencing, and intimidation." – Student at Stanford

Durin and after these events, students and faculty at the medical school, as well as the MAP Committee, met a number of times with administrators to enable future events on the devastatin health crisis in Gaza. Medical students were ultimately able to host other events related to the conflict, includin an event with Dr. Mohammad Subeh, a local emer ency room physician and Stanford alum who described the trauma he had witnessed durin his emer ency medical mission in Gaza. These events went forward, althou h students still perceived that they faced inordinate scrutiny, includin the requirement that students share the School of Medicine's uidelines with all speakers and participants.

3. Admitted Students Recruitment Video

In April 2024, students at the School of Medicine shared that they were bein told not to show the Arabic portion of a parody music video they had produced for newly admitted medical students, because it was deemed too political. As we understand it, each year, a roup of Stanford medical students produces a li hthearted music video featurin popular son s with new lyrics and dance numbers adapted to their medical school experience. The music video is customarily shown durin the first day of "Discovery Days," an event for admitted students. This year, the video was to include a multicultural se ment with son s in Hindi, Spanish, and Arabic. The students producin the Arabic portion chose to write lyrics about their medical school life to be played a ainst the backtrack of a popular son by the 2013 Arab Idol winner from Gaza, Mohammad Assaf's Dammi Falastini ("My Blood is Palestinian"). The ori inal lyrics express sentiments of national and cultural pride equivalent to "God Bless America."

These are the students' new lyrics parodyin their medical school life:

I took an oath I made a promise
In the healin space you'll find me
The people I serve, I will heal
My oal is to listen to them, console them, and treat them
My oal is to heal them.
We study hard for the de ree
Fueled by our parents' prayers
Stanford has tired us out
The voice of my parents is forcin me
(sponsor me, support me)
And my loan is drivin me crazy

Apparently, despite these li ht-hearted, medical school–focused lyrics, the inclusion of the son attracted attention because the credits to the music video, listed at the end, named the ori inal son , "My Blood is Palestinian."

We understand that, two days before the completed video was to be shown, medical school administrators viewed it and expressed concern to the students headin the music video project as a whole.

Students who created the Arabic se ment reported that the administration conveyed, throu h the student producers of the video project, that they would not be allowed to show the music video with the Arabic portion as is. Rather, they had the followin options: either delete the Arabic portion, use a different son (which would require creatin new lyrics and recordin a new dance in less than 48 hours), delete the multilin ual portion in its entirety, or record an entirely new multicultural video after Discovery Days to be posted on YouTube. (An administrator later characterized these requests as "su estions to promote reater inclusivity," but the students who produced the Arabic se ment understood chan in the video to be a requirement, not a su estion.)

Faced with choices that they believed silenced the expression of their identity, concerned students polled the first-year medical school class to determine their preferences. A majority of students voted to show the video in its entirety, as intended, or not to show any of the video if it meant leavin out any of the roups involved. Ultimately, after this vote, the full video was shown to the admitted students and first-year class. But the dama e had already been done. Students described how utted they felt to spend weeks laborin to promote diversity at the medical school, only to be tar eted because they expressed their authentic identities. "We felt like our identities were bein tokenized," one student shared. "They didn't want to include us in the video but had no problem askin us to talk to students and recruit them on the basis of student affinity roups."

"Due to the nature of occupation and injustices inflicted upon Palestinians, especially in the last 7 months, the mere mention of the identity is contested. To say 'my lood is Palestinian' is to effectively say 'my lood is Venezuelan' or 'my lood is American.' It is to say that one elongs to the nationality that they elong to. … We (the majority of students involved in the multilingual segment of the video) don't want to e complicit in the silencing and misrepresentation of the student ody and diversity at Stanford School of Medicine."

Message sent y students to first-year medical school class

4. Political Attire

We include one last incident to show how pervasive the climate of speech suppression appears to have been. On January 26, 2024, a second-year medical student wore a black si n on the back of her white coat readin , "Healthcare Workers Demand: Stop Bombin Hospitals," as she entered Li Ka Shin Center, the medical school's primary instructional buildin . Accordin to the student, a security uard stopped her at the elevator and told her that she could not wear the si n because it could upset some students. He refused to allow her to enter

the buildin wearin the si n, or even to remove the white coat and keep it with her as she went upstairs to drop off some materials. She was forced to leave the coat with the uard until she returned.

While Stanford Medicine may place some limits on employees and students displayin political statements when they treat patients in clinical environments, suppressin expression on students' clothin in educational spaces merely because it is controversial violates principles of free speech. Indeed, in one of its most famous free speech decisions, the Supreme Court upheld the ri ht of middle and hi h school students to wear black armbands to school in protest of the Vietnam War, declarin that school officials could not justify prohibitin such expression based on the "mere desire to avoid the discomfort and unpleasantness that always accompany an unpopular viewpoint." And Stanford's own policy uidance on freedom of speech notes that "wearin controversial political attire, buttons, or insi nia" is protected, includin "anythin from a Black Lives Matter shirt to a Make America Great A ain Hat."

Law School Incident

Law student roups have held several events on Gaza, international law, and human ri hts in Palestine this academic year. Unlike students at the School of Medicine, they enerally received the kinds of support the law school customarily provides to student-sponsored events, such as the use of space and fundin for food. But there was one important exception, where the content of their expression shaped the law school's response.

In January 2024, members of Stanford Law Students for Justice in Palestine (SLSJP) sou ht to screen the International Court of Justice (ICJ) hearin s for the case brou ht by South Africa alle in that Israel was committin enocide in Gaza. Students wanted to ensure that the law school community at lar e was aware of this important development in international law. They intended to screen both days of the hearin s, first South Africa's ar ument on January 11, and then Israel's response on January 12.

On the mornin of January 11, SLSJP members set up a projector in Crocker Garden facin one of the walls of the classroom buildin of the law school. Because of the sunli ht, the projection was not clear, and a student member asked administrators about other options for screenin the hearin s in a public, visible space at the law school. In response, an administrator booked Russo Commons, the indoor student common area, for the students. Students screened the hearin s on the TV in Russo for about two hours before bein told that they would have to move the screenin because of complaints received about showin it "in a public meetin space in which all should feel welcome."

We understand that, in a subsequent conversation, the administrator told students both that Russo Commons was a space where everyone should feel comfortable, and that student roups could not use the screens durin the hours the Russo Law Café remained open. The students noted that the same space had been used to screen the confirmation hearin s of Justice Brett Kavanau h in 2018, a judicial proceedin that also en endered controversy and likely made some students uncomfortable. The dean of the law school apparently had approved that screenin .

After two hours, followin further consultation, administrators returned and asked students to relocate to a classroom. Students explained that the purpose of the screenin was to ensure their law school classmates encountered the proceedin s, and that tuckin the screenin away into a classroom would defeat the purpose of the event. Administrators told students that it was important even to SLSJP members' own mental health to be able to step away from some of this work. Students countered that, for many members, steppin away from the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza was not possible, and doin somethin to publicize the situation improved their well-bein .

After some ne otiations, students a reed to move the screenin back outside to Crocker Garden. An administrator reportedly told the students that they did not realize that students planned to screen Israel's ICJ response as well, and that had they realized this fact, they mi ht have supported students in continuin to screen the events in Russo. Students screened the proceedin s for a few more hours outside on Thursday, January 11, but ultimately needed to stop because of the weather. For the same reason, students did not screen the proceedin s on Friday, January 12.

SLSJP members held several conversations with administrators about what they saw as disparate enforcement of the rules around use of Russo Commons. They noted that the student or anization handbook only restricted the servin of food before 3 p.m. in that space, not the use of screens. They objected to the idea that student complaints about facin challen in subjects should be rounds for relocatin the screenin of a si nificant international le al proceedin .

Administrators later apolo ized for the manner in which the January events unfolded, and they cited a need to clarify the rules re ardin use of Russo Commons. **While a viewpoint-neutral policy for use of common space is important, limitations on the time, place, and manner of student activities should not e enacted specifically out of fear of Palestine advocacy—a su ject we return to elow.**

Law students also noted that, even when they did not experience actual restrictions on speech, they experienced re ular disparities in the kinds of events the university would officially sponsor.

For instance, in fall 2023, they could not find a law school center willin to sponsor a stand-alone event with Omar Shakir, a Stanford Law School alumnus and Israel and Palestine director at Human Ri hts Watch, who had spoken multiple times at Stanford in the past. Stanford faculty-run centers and institutes could—and did—host pro rams that fall quarter with speakers supportive of the Israeli overnment's position, but students had to host the Omar Shakir event on their own, notwithstandin his status as a prominent human ri hts advocate from a leadin U.S. human ri hts or anization.

Staff Communications

In addition to restrictions on student speech, we have heard from staff members who have faced scrutiny or disapproval for their comments related to Palestine and Israel—includin , once a ain, use of the term " enocide" to characterize the military offensive in Gaza.

In fall 2023, a Stanford staff member posted a short messa e on an employee Slack channel invitin others to connect who were concerned about the " enocide of the Palestinian people" and Stanford's response. Other employees had earlier posted messa es on the same Slack channel describin "the atrocities that are oin on in southern Israel," their family members' efforts to support the war in Gaza, and su estions for providin support to Israelis. But soon after the staff member posted the messa e about Palestinians, a human resources officer called her to request that she edit the messa e to omit the word " enocide." The human resources officer told her that the lan ua e upset some people, who felt "tar eted" by it, and su ested that she use other words to make her point. The staff member explained that she intended only to show support to collea ues who felt unheard and afraid to say anythin at work. The conversation concluded with the human resources officer tellin her that "you can pretend this conversation never happened" and that the incident would not "impact her career." These statements seemed to indicate that the human resources officer mi ht have realized that the conversation was inappropriate, and also fla ed the possibility of career consequences even while purportin to alleviate any such concern.

That incident exemplifies a broader concern expressed by numerous staff at Stanford: many do not feel they have any ability to speak out about the Palestine and Israel issue. Some staff expressed concern about hei htened surveillance around community center events after students made a pro-Palestinian statement at one event which was then reported to other offices at the university. Others questioned whether they would be disciplined for attendin a protest on campus, even in a purely personal capacity. While the university professes free speech ri hts for faculty and students, and it applies the university's statement on academic freedom to "members of the Academic Staff in a manner appropriate to their role and responsibilities," there is little clarity on the extent to which staff enjoy speech protections or academic freedom in the various roles they serve.

TIME, PLACE, AND MANNER RESTRICTIONS

Like the overnment, Stanford can le itimately restrict the how, when, and where of speech on campus in ways that are consistent with the First Amendment. Reasonable limitations on the "time, place, or manner of protected speech" are permitted as lon as they are justified without re ard to the content of the expression in question, "narrowly tailored" to serve a si nificant interest, and "leave open ample alternative channels for communication." Unfortunately, we have seen Stanford invoke time, place, and manner restrictions in several problematic ways. Some of these applications may infrin e on the Leonard Law/First Amendment; others may not, but nonetheless challen e the university's stated commitment to cultivatin an environment where people learn from one another throu h free expression, disa reement, and debate.

First, our listenin sessions have surfaced examples of Stanford officials applyin time, place, and manner restrictions in a selective or inconsistent manner. This issue has arisen in multiple contexts, includin the placement of fla s or banners related to the war in Gaza in various locations. **For example, a faculty mem er within the School of Humanities and Sciences was told to remove a Palestinian flag hanging outside their office window.** At the same time, an Israeli fla hun outside an office window at the Graduate School of Business; when a student at the GSB objected, they were told that there was nothin to be done. While this example may reflect different policies and decision makers across university units, the inconsistent approach sends the messa e that expressions of solidarity with Palestinians are specifically unwelcome.

In another incident, a faculty member livin in Stanford housin informed us that the Homeowners Association for their nei hborhood called an emer ency meetin about a Palestinian fla they had hun at their home, despite the fact that they had previously hun a Ukrainian fla in the same location for two years without incident. When they first mounted the Palestinian fla , it was stolen; after they replaced it, someone smeared do feces on the ara e door below the fla , and two days later, someone left do feces below the fla . The faculty member then added written messa es to the fla , includin "Resist Genocide Now" and "Solidarity with Stanford Students"—after which they were called "a ressive," "antisemitic," and "Nazi" by other residents. The faculty member does not recall any other emer ency meetin bein called by the homeowners' association to respond to a resident's political expression. After encounterin such hostility, the faculty member removed the fla .

Students have also expressed concern over inconsistent responses to banners hun at their residences. In February 2024, after students placed a banner outside one student residence that read “Zionism is enocide,”they were apparently told that they had to remove the banner within the hour, because of a si na e rule requirin buildin mana ers to pre-approve banners. The students noted that multiple banners had been hun over the past several years at the same residence without objection. Later, they were told that all banners and fla s han in outside windows or balconies had to be removed, in keepin with a residential a reement rule that such items could only be posted on bulletin boards. Students were told that, if they did not comply, a “ roup accountability process” would be initiated in the residence, with additional processes for students deemed individually responsible. While reasonable restrictions on the circumstances in which students can han fla s, banners, or flyers in common areas or shared spaces in dorms may be justified, such restrictions must be enforced neutrally. Unfortunately, it seems that many such restrictions are routinely i nored, and then invoked and enforced for the first time in response to pro-Palestine expression. This creates problems not just for students, but for staff in Residential Education who reco nize they are bein asked to enforce rules that were not previously enforced, and who do not want to be in the position of decidin which banners can be hun .

Second, we have heard repeatedly from students concerned about administrators enactin *new* restrictions on the time, place, and manner of expression in response to advocacy for Palestinians. The university adopted new uidelines for tablin in White Plaza after disbandin the Sit-In to Stop Genocide in February 2024. The Kni ht-Hennessy Scholars pro ram eliminated a student Slack channel after vi orous exchan es between students about the war in Gaza. The medical school issued a new set of policy uidelines in December 2023 on the use of institutional resources, like meetin rooms and listservs, apparently prompted by student expression related to the conflict. While these new rules may not discriminate a ainst the content of speech on their face, the timin and circumstances of their enactment raise concern about a possible intent to restrict pro-Palestinian speech.

Third, re ardless of intent, some of Stanford’s time, place, and manner restrictions threaten the ability of students and others on campus to en a e in robust discussion of contemporary issues. To be clear, narrowly tailored rules that preserve learnin environments from disruption, such as rules preventin the use of bullhorns near classes in session, are appropriate. But in combination, a variety of current and impendin restrictions shrink the space for students to en a e with one another and the campus at lar e about their ideas. Despite the oft repeated statement alon the lines of “the university needs more speech, not less,” Stanford appears to be limitin and confinin student speech in a variety of ways.

Consider, for instance, the law school's impendin chan e to posterin policies. For many years, students have been allowed to post flyers outside of law school buildin s that are visible to students and others passin by. This past year, students used those spaces to promote events and express views on a wide spectrum of le al issues, includin the conflict between Palestine and Israel. Some posted flyers with the names of those killed in Gaza, for example, and the text of an article censored from the Harvard Law Review for equatin the Israeli military offensive to enocide. Others posted the "Kidnapped" posters featurin Israelis taken hosta e and flyers for events supportive of Israel.

Be innin in 2024-25, however, the law school has announced that posters will only be allowed on desi nated bulletin boards inside the law school. While we understand this chan e to have been made before October 2023, to conform to existin university policies outside the law school, these existin policies severely restrict students' opportunities to communicate with each other. By eliminatin the most natural spaces for public, outdoor messa es, the university leaves it to students to find out about events only throu h more limited channels, such as indoor bulletin boards within specific departments or opt-in listservs or social media. Stanford should be encoura in learnin across disciplines, schools, and perspectives, not confinin student speech and publicity to self-selected echo chambers or school-specific informational channels.

Similar issues arise with Stanford policies on student or anizations. A host of Stanford policies, such as those concernin reservin or tablin in White Plaza, require that student roups be officially re istered. Re istration policies of some kind make sense as a precondition for student roups to access limited university fundin . But amon other limits, current policies make it difficult for new student or anizations to form and hold events in response to current events. For instance, students this year apparently could submit applications for new student or anizations only within a three-week window early in the winter quarter. Students must follow a len thy and detailed application process to re ister new roups. When Stanford instructed the Sit-in to Stop Genocide to disband in February 2024, and in later messa es threatened disciplinary sanctions a ainst those who established new tents in White Plaza in April, the university touted the ability of students to en a e in speech on White Plaza in a manner "consistent with university policies." It is not clear, however, that at the time of these communications, any new student roup—like the new roups formed to protest the Israeli military onslau ht in Gaza—could have re istered in accordance with this policy, iven that the three-week window had already closed.

This exemplifies a more general pro lem: time, place, and manner restrictions are pervasive across the university, not always enforced, ut availa le to limit student expression when administrators decide they wish to do so. Very few people at the university understand these restrictions, includin students and university staff supportin them.

The policies can be lon , complex, and inaccessible. In our experience, most Stanford staff are ea er to support student expression and activities. But when so many complex and cross-referenced policies exist that can be invoked to suppress speech—and sanction students who violate them—it places enormous power and discretion at the hands of university leadership. The question raised is: are there sufficient avenues for students to en a e in speech without violatin university policy?

This problem may be especially acute when it comes to protests. It is hard to ima ine how any lar e student protest mi ht occur, even in Stanford's celebrated "free speech zone" (White Plaza), without violatin Stanford policies. Only re istered student or anizations may book space in White Plaza, precludin new roups from doin so if they miss the three-week window. Events that involve "use of much of the White Plaza space" may require informin the university three weeks ahead of time, or even lon er, if they are "lar e-scale events or activities outside the normal 12:00 p.m. (noon) to 1:00 p.m. time slot." The political events that tri er student protests, however, rarely are predictable weeks in advance. The use of amplified sound is only permitted for one hour durin the daytime, and with advance approval. Further restrictions apply to posters, banners, and flyers. While universities have le itimate interests in limitin disruption to university functions, maintainin equitable processes for various student roups to use space, and mana in costs, the rules should not be so restrictive as to preclude demonstrations and wield the threat of disciplinary violations for failures to comply.

POLICING AND CRIMINALIZATION OF STUDENT PROTEST

History of Student Protest Movements at Stanford

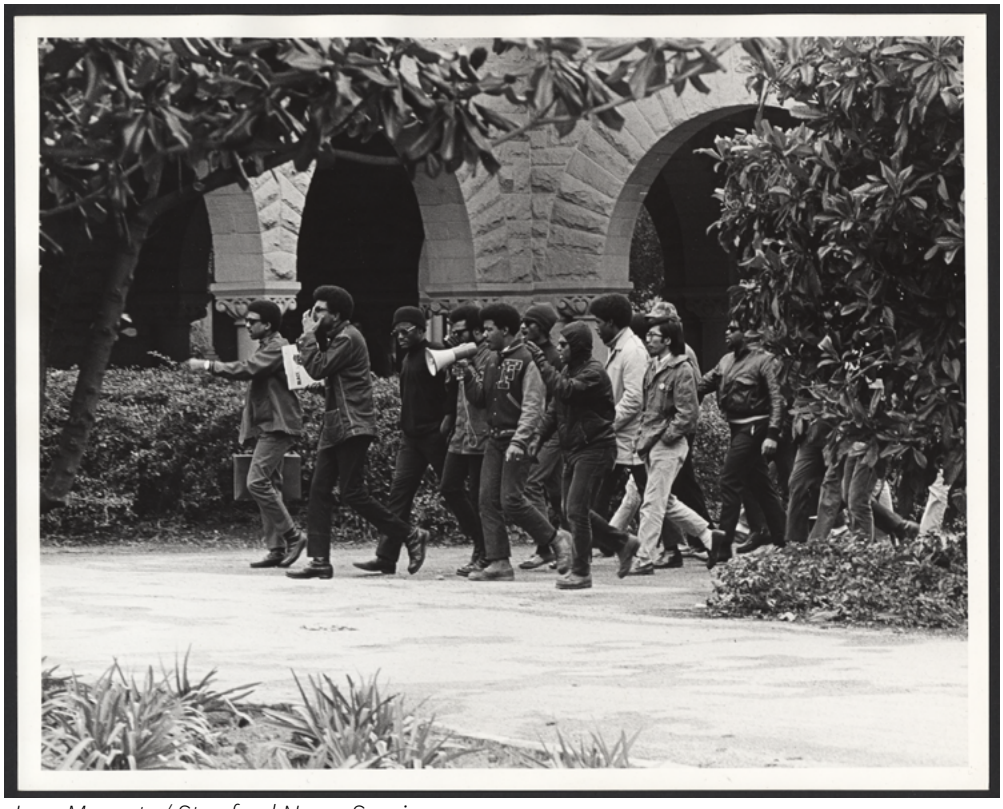
Stanford students have a lon history of en a in in protest, includin throu h sit-ins, disruption of official events, and other forms of civil disobedience. Despite the vilification it now receives, today's Palestine anti-war activism is not an aberration or departure from university discourse and campus en a ement. In fact, Stanford commemorates many past student protests in prominent displays in university buildin s and on its websites.

Historically, some of these protests led the university to a ree to student demands or to amnesty for rule violations, despite reater levels of disruption to campus activities. For instance, in 1968, after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther Kin , Jr., 70 Black students and community members walked onto the sta e at a campus-wide event, rabbed the mic from Stanford Provost Richard Lyman, and presented 10 demands. Lyman later described the administration's response to these demands as "enthusiastic," and Stanford a reed to double the enrollment of minority students by the followin year.

The Black Community Services Center in 2018 honored "these or anizers, activists, educators, and risk-takers for their bravery, tenacity, rit, and in enuity as they sin le-handedly shifted the campus culture and ultimately, the trajectory of Stanford University."

In 1969, a peaceful sit-in at Stanford's Applied Electronics Laboratory protestin the lab's contribution to classified military research shut down the lab and all its work for nine days. Accordin to the *Stanford Magazine*, in the "next few days, the Faculty Senate debated and eventually banned classified research." This peaceful—but disruptive—event is now celebrated. Then-provost Richard Lyman described the sit-in in a 2009 Stanford Historical Society essay as "le endary" and "peaceful." Stanford Law School's classroom buildin has a panel commemoratin this event, which notes that a "stron " majority of Stanford's faculty voted to rant amnesty to the students if they voluntarily ended the sit-in (which they did).

Members of the April 3 Movement (A3M) that or anized many of that era's anti-war protests went on to become "journalists, lawyers, professors, or anizers and overnment officials," who would later hold reunions to honor their past activism and connect with today's Stanford activists. Lenny Sie el, one or anizer of the A3M demonstrations who came to campus this May to connect with "those fi htin climate chan e and enocide in Gaza," told the Stanford Daily, "Attendin Stanford was a reat learnin experience for us, but it wasn't just what we learned in the classroom."



Jose Mercato/ Stanford News Service

On Feb. 20, 1969, members of the Black Student Union led a march to the bookstore and the president's office to present demands for supportin African American students, faculty, and community members, includin requests for more Black faculty and staff.

Stanford's Activist Past

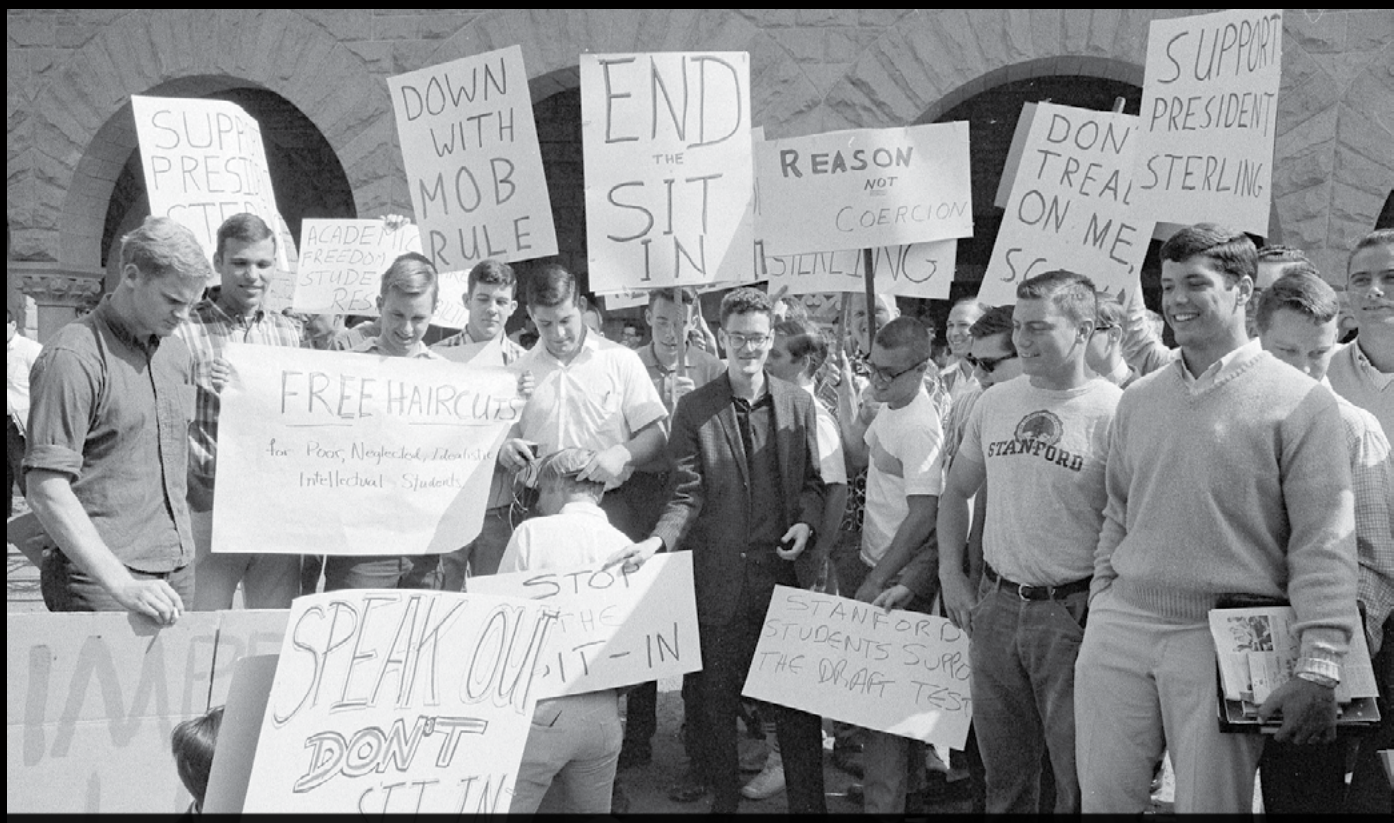
On May 6, 1968, 1500 students gathered in Old Union Courtyard to protest the proposed suspension of students who demonstrated against Central Intelligence Agency recruiting. In the evening, 1,500 students gathered in the Old Union courtyard. A vote passed by a wide margin in favor of amnesty for the seven students and the formation of a student-dominated judicial review procedure.

Chuck ainter / Stanford News Service

On April 9, 1969, several hundred April Third Movement (A3M) protesters occupied the Applied Electronics Laboratory, where much of the classified Department of Defense research at Stanford took place. Administrators tried to dislodge the students without force. Threatened with suspension, the students voted to end their nine-day occupation, and the faculty voted in favor of amnesty.

May 9 through May 10, 1977 marked the largest display of civil disobedience in Stanford's history until that date. Students gathered in Old Union to protest against apartheid, U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa, and the Board of Trustee's refusal to urge Ford Motor Co. to close its South African operations.

Jose Mercato/ Stanford News Service



In 1966, students held a counter-demonstration against their peers' anti-Vietnam War draft sit-in at the President's Office, reflecting the diversity of views on campus at the time.

Chuck Painter / Stanford News Service

In 1969, when Stanford called in the police to campus for the first time, to clear a sit-in at Encina Hall, which housed the university's financial documents, the provost explained to the Academic Council why the university had overcome its "deep reluctance" to involve police. He attributed the decision partly to the violence that had taken place, includin physical assaults of students and the breakin open of locked doors. Even then, the provost specifically noted that the intention was not to arrest students, and that, indeed, no arrests were made. The provost told faculty that, any time the university had to brin in police, "a defeat has taken place."

In the early 1970s, Stanford experienced violence of a kind entirely absent from campus in today's or anizin around Palestine and Israel. In 1970, someone threw a bottle full of red paint and several rocks throu h the windows of the president's house, while others set fire to two win s of the Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, destroyin 10 offices and precious archives. Hundreds of police deputies battled student protesters for hours one ni ht; they unleashed tear as, while protesters hit them with a "barra e of rocks" that led to injuries. In 1972, a bomb exploded in the president's office, causin thousands of dollars in structural dama e, and the same year an enormous fire thou ht by many to be arson caused $1 million in dama e to Encina Hall, which was the university's main administrative buildin at the time. These are just a few of the events Lyman detailed in his book *Stanford in Turmoil, Campus nrest 1968-1972*.

These shockin incidents are a reminder that Stanford today is nowhere near the hei ht of conflict that characterized this earlier period. Today's student protesters have maintained a commitment to nonviolence despite a political context reminiscent of what Provost Lyman observed in 1969: a "brutal and senseless war abroad; brutal and senseless oppression at home; a feelin of desperation amon the youn and their powerlessness to remedy these thin s."

After that especially tense period, peaceful protests continued at Stanford throu hout the next several decades. In 1977, hundreds of students refused to leave Old Union until Stanford divested from South African apartheid. After hundreds of students were arrested, hundreds more reoccupied the buildin the next day. In April 2006, students clashed with police and three were arrested when more than a thousand protesters blocked President Geor e W. Bush's motorcade as it headed toward the Hoover Tower, thwartin his ability to visit campus.

Despite vilifyin students for violatin rules and traditions at the time of some protests, Stanford now commemorates this le acy of peaceful student protest. A Stanford website on "Activism at Stanford" celebrates the "flourishin " of student activism in the anti-war movement, the civil ri hts movement, and other initiatives.

The “To ether We Rise” display at Cecil H. Green Library memorializes the many student efforts, from hun er strikes to office takeovers, which increased hirin of faculty of color and support for underrepresented students and community centers on campus; the display even features Stanford’s history of protests for Palestinian ri hts since 2014. Additionally, Stanford’s law school classroom buildin features a historical timeline with several panels on student civil disobedience, includin one on the arrests of law students who blocked the entrance of the draft board to slow down the “war machine.” **Through its actions and memorials, Stanford tells today’s student activists that, even if they are arrested, disciplined, and harangued for their protests now, Stanford will not hesitate to use their stories in the future if it proves expedient to do so.**

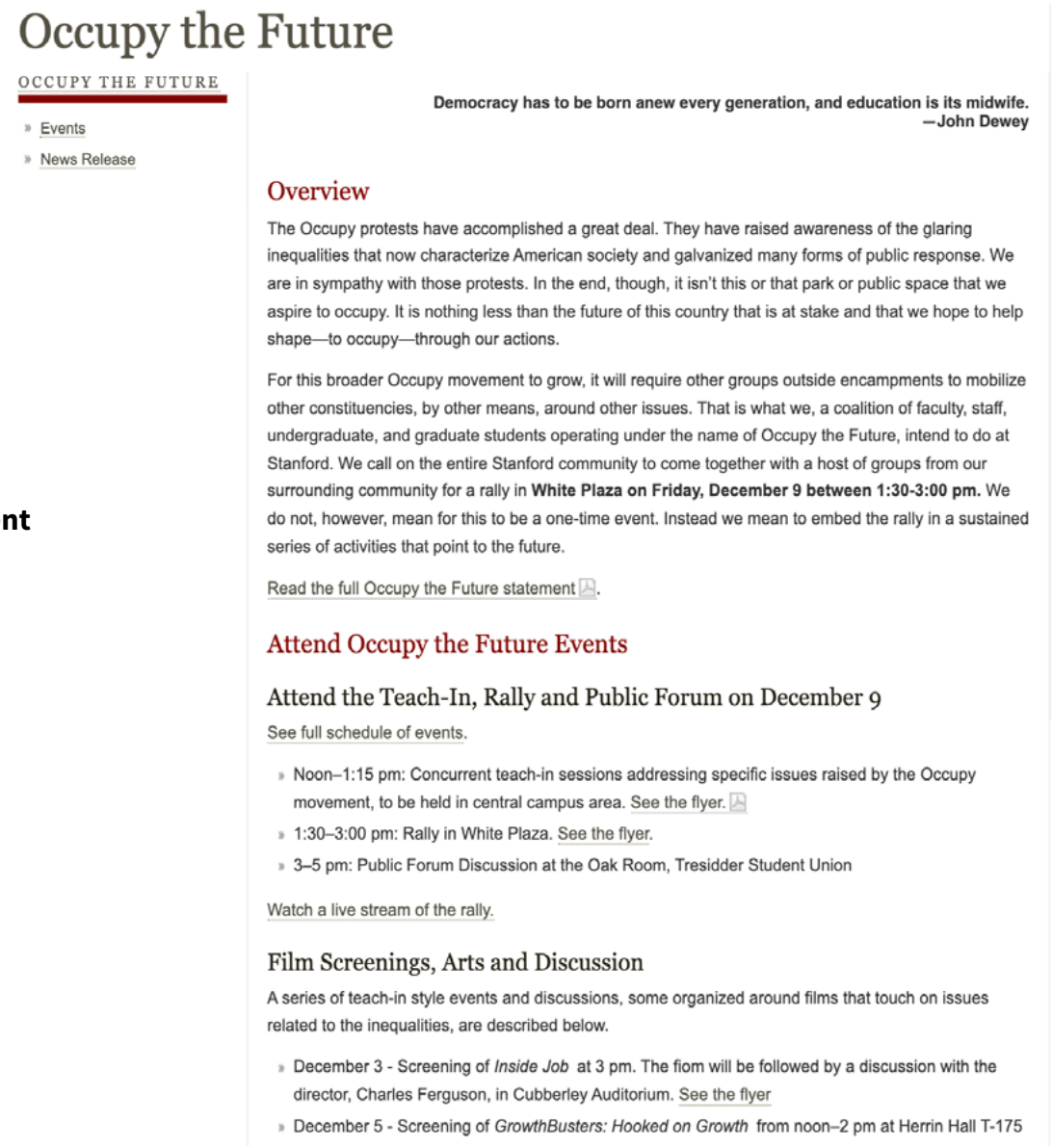
On the national level, the political and social movement that started with Occupy Wall Street in 2011 received si nificant scholarly attention at Stanford and from Stanford scholars, much of it positive. There was a litany of events, teach-ins, email blasts, and even official university websites advertisin and elevatin the “Occupy the Future effort at Stanford University.” In December 2012, philosophy professor Debra Satz, now dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences, spoke on a C-SPAN panel: “Somethin be an. There was a wed e. Sometimes it’s just important that somethin be ins. Part of the importance of Occupy, and I’ll come back to that, is that somethin be an. A roup of faculty decided to add force to the wed e by turnin to their various expertise, and we were a roup of political scientists, economists, sociolo ists, philosophers, artists, and literature professors to add force to the web by developin a narrative that would under ird the concerns of the occupiers.” Boston Review Books later published an edited antholo y of essays by Stanford faculty entitled *Occupy the Future*.

The disparity in treatment between certain past protests and today’s pro-Palestine protests is strikin . In 2015, Stanford students sta ed a sit-in at President John Hennessy’s Main Quad office to ur e divestment from fossil fuel. The Stanford Report stated that “participatin students have been notified that they are violatin university policies about use of the Main Quad,” and that the university “ur ed the roup to relocate to White Plaza, the university’s free speech zone, where the university has said it will make a special accommodation for the demonstrators to allow for overni ht campin .” But in 2023-24, the university said that the White Plaza encampment “violates our policy on overni ht campin , which is in place for the safety of our community members.” In 2015, the Stanford Report stated that: “Faculty members have discretion to determine how to handle missed classes, assi nments or exams of demonstratin students,” and that, “in conjunction with the demonstration, members of the Stanford faculty are offerin teach-ins today throu h Thursday on subjects ran in from environmental practices to the history of dissent to climate chan e.”

In 2024, the university sounded a different note, tellin university units that "the use of funds or other resources provided by the university to support the violation of university policies is not allowed. Such actions … may subject university units to review for violation of the Code of Conduct."

The conclusion we draw from this disparity of both approaches and tone fits our analysis throu hout this report: Palestine is a more divisive topic than climate chan e, so speech about Palestine is silenced or restricted where speech about climate was affirmed. The university has simply treated some viewpoints differently than others. This is not just inimical to the intellectual purpose of the university, but also sends a dama in messa e to students about parameters within which they can speak, discuss, and debate.

Stanford Promotes the Occupy Movement in 2011-12



Occupy the Future

OCCUPY THE FUTURE

- Events
- News Release

Democracy has to be born anew every generation, and education is its midwife.
—John Dewey

Overview

The Occupy protests have accomplished a great deal. They have raised awareness of the glaring inequalities that now characterize American society and galvanized many forms of public response. We are in sympathy with those protests. In the end, though, it isn't this or that park or public space that we aspire to occupy. It is nothing less than the future of this country that is at stake and that we hope to help shape—to occupy—through our actions.

For this broader Occupy movement to grow, it will require other groups outside encampments to mobilize other constituencies, by other means, around other issues. That is what we, a coalition of faculty, staff, undergraduate, and graduate students operating under the name of Occupy the Future, intend to do at Stanford. We call on the entire Stanford community to come together with a host of groups from our surrounding community for a rally in **White Plaza on Friday, December 9 between 1:30-3:00 pm.** We do not, however, mean for this to be a one-time event. Instead we mean to embed the rally in a sustained series of activities that point to the future.

Read the full Occupy the Future statement.

Attend Occupy the Future Events

Attend the Teach-In, Rally and Public Forum on December 9

See full schedule of events.

- Noon–1:15 pm: Concurrent teach-in sessions addressing specific issues raised by the Occupy movement, to be held in central campus area. See the flyer.
- 1:30–3:00 pm: Rally in White Plaza. See the flyer.
- 3–5 pm: Public Forum Discussion at the Oak Room, Tresidder Student Union

Watch a live stream of the rally.

Film Screenings, Arts and Discussion

A series of teach-in style events and discussions, some organized around films that touch on issues related to the inequalities, are described below.

- December 3 - Screening of *Inside Job* at 3 pm. The fiom will be followed by a discussion with the director, Charles Ferguson, in Cubberley Auditorium. See the flyer
- December 5 - Screening of *GrowthBusters: Hooked on Growth* from noon–2 pm at Herrin Hall T-175

SIT IN TO STOP GENOCIDE TIMELINE

Octo er 20, 2023

Undergraduate Stanford students start a sit-in and camp overnight to protest against Israel's war crimes in Gaza. At first, the sit-in starts with just a few students, ut y the end of the month, the sit-in grows into a place where students can present their positions, advocate, engage across differences, and e in conversation with each other. Conversation norms and regular training sessions help to guide these conversations.

CONVERSATION NORMS
1. We are non-violent in our words and actions.
2. We are respectful in our tone and language—if you are yelling or raising your voice, we won't continue conversing.
3. We don't take photos or videos that include faces of people part of the sit-in.
4. We respect freedom of speech — we don't take down signs and we ask that you don't take down ours.
SIGN OUR PETITION
OTHER VSOS

Octo er 27, 2023

Students screen *Jenin, Jenin*, a documentary on the Battle of Jenin in 2002. Students host events, such as movie ni hts, where their peers can come to learn more about the history of Palestine.

Students work to ather si natures on a petition demandin that Stanford end its complicity in the war a ainst Palestinians in Gaza. Students en a e with passers-by in White Plaza, educatin their peers and visitors to Stanford about the history of the re ion and current events in context. By the end of the sit-in four months later, this petition arners more than **2,800 signatures.**

Novem er 2, 2023

Two individuals attempt to defame the Sit-In to Stop Genocide by writin messa es in chalk next to the sit-in in a way that attributed those messa es to the protestin students. These messa es include statements such as: “Come Chat About How Jewish Babies Should Be Burned Alive,” and “Boycott Divest Sanction Includes Israeli Arabs - Ask Us About It :).” Students en a e those who wrote the messa es and ask them to erase what they had written. They also clarify that the messa es are “Not Endorsed By The Sit-In and Other Pro-Palestine Advocates.” Later that day, Stanford Hillel clarifies that the chalkin was done by a Jewish community member “who was tryin to use irony/sarcasm to draw ne ative attention to a pro-Palestinian protest on campus.”

Sit-in or anizers continue to utilize the sit-in as a space of community buildin and political mobilization. Students re ularly hold call-a-thons where community members could be trained on how to call their representatives and ur e them to support a ceasefire in Gaza. Under raduates, raduate students, and other Stanford affiliates joined these call-a-thons and shared scripts with their communities to build political momentum.

Novem er 13, 2023

As the sit-in students continue in their protest, other members of the Stanford community erect the Blue and White Tent across from the Sit-in to Stop Genocide.

As Thanks ivin break approaches: Students from the sit-in continue their protest, and release a uide for students who are worried about approachin the topic of Palestine durin their time at home with their families. The uide addresses both the content and framin of discussions, as well as strate ies to take in order to remain calm and have productive conversations. Students start the uide by ur in people to “take a deep breath,” “listen first,” “ round yourself in facts,” and “refer to human ri hts officials,” and then discuss how key talkin points could be addressed or rebutted. Students build on this uide for an updated Winter Edition as Winter Break approaches.

The end of fall quarter: Students used the sit-in as a space to uplift and create student art reflectin on the on- oin war in Gaza. One such artwork is the short film *As I Witness*.

A 3-D computer- enerated ima e of the Sit-In to Stop Genocide made by two under raduates for their final project in CS 148: Introduction to Graphics.

Students continue hostin movie ni hts and reflections to follow, hostin screenin s of films includin *Tantura, Gaza Fights For Freedom, Israelism, Divine Intervention, and Tears of Gaza.*

Students also exchange scholarly resources with students participating in the Blue & White Tent, including annotating each others' articles and ook chapters.

January 2024

Sit-in or anizers join broader calls by student advocates for Stanford to divest its holdin s from Hewlett-Packard, as well as efforts to raise awareness of the violence in Gaza.

Fe ruary 1, 2024

A letter in the *Stanford Daily* si ned by more than 200 Stanford alumni commends the sit-in, writin "We as alumni stand beside them and offer our endless solidarity."

Fe ruary 4, 2024

A heavy rain storm with stron usts of wind blows across Stanford's campus. Members of the Sit-in to Stop Genocide rally students and community members to ensure the sit-in's structure remains intact. The storm knocks down the Blue and White Tent.

Fe ruary 5, 2024

Muslim student erects a small Sit-In to Stop Islamophobia in the lawn across from the Sit-In to Stop Genocide where the Blue and White Tent had been.

Fe ruary 8, 2024

Stanford administrators inform student or anizers that they would be removin the Sit-In to Stop Genocide. Sit-in Students rally the Stanford community and request support to resist the administration's efforts. More than 400 members of the community show up to support the sit-in that ni ht. *The Stanford Review* publishes an article entitled "Save the Tents," writin "All students have a ri ht to free expression, and the University's recent letter is a cookie-cutter example of wieldin safetyism to quash students' ri ht to free expression."

Fe ruary 9, 2024

Members of the sit-in extend an offer to the university to voluntarily end the sit-in in exchan e for pro ress on the sit-in's demands and assurances that the administration would not take disciplinary action a ainst student protesters.

Fe ruary 11, 2024

The sit-in hosts its first Palestine Book Club, where they read *The Hundred Years' War* on Palestine by Rashid Khalidi.

Fe ruary 12, 2024

Stanford administrators sign a letter agreeing not to take disciplinary action against students who were involved in the sit-in, or mo ilize police against student protesters who agreed to dismantle the sit-in voluntarily at 120 days.

Fe ruary 17, 2024

Students hold a vi il markin 120 days of the Sit-in to Stop Genocide. Service workers dismantle the sit-in between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m. and remove everybody's belon in s. This surprises and distresses the students, who had thou ht they were ne otiatin the removal of their belon in s.

Students from the sit-in and the roader campus community continue to raise political awareness on campus through rallies, die-ins, and teach-ins, even after they have lost their physical space on campus.

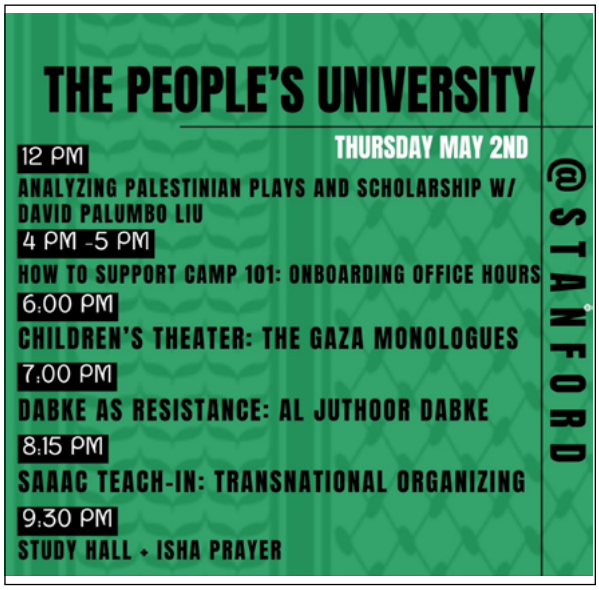
PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY FOR PALESTINE

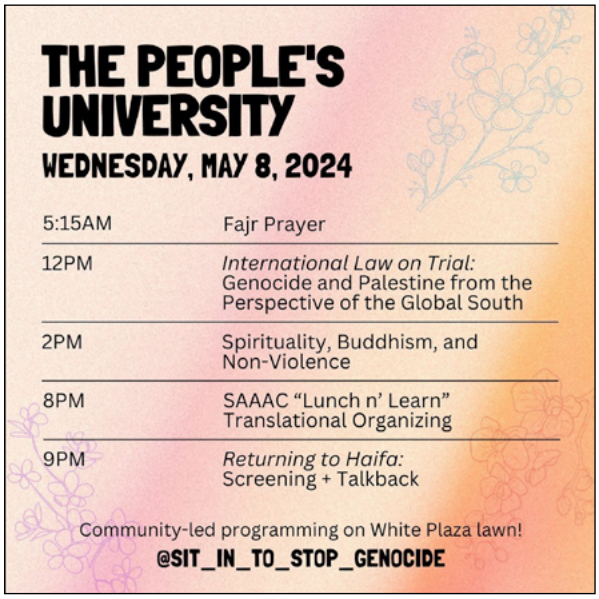
On April 25, 2024, students establish the People's University for Palestine, an encampment in White Plaza to ur e the university to divest its holdin s from corporations that supply weapons and surveillance technolo y to the Israeli overnment.

The People's University continues to host daily pro rammin includin daily prayers, demonstrations, presentations on Palestine's intersection with other causes, and film screenin s. Students also seek, or anize, and receive extensive "know your ri hts" and safety/de-escalation trainin in order to foster a peaceful protest environment.

The People's University raises awareness on the Palestinian issue by embracin intersectionality and connected stru les. The encampment re ularly hosts pro rammin with affinity or anizations to shed li ht on how the on oin war in Gaza is part of and intertwined with lar er lobal oppressions a ainst indi eneity, Muslim identity, the environment, and the Global South. The encampment addresses these interconnected oppressions by welcomin Stanford affiliates and community members to contribute to and shape pro rammin that mi ht not otherwise find a place on campus. Examples of such events include, "From Vietnam to Falastin: Intertwined Histories and Futures," "Brin in Indi enous Revolution to Campus: Lessons from Palestine, Kurdistan, and Wallmapu," "Asian American Or anizin and Solidarity with Palestine," "Spirituality, Buddhism, and Non-Violence," "Lunch & Learn: Brid in West Oakland and Gaza," and "'The Palestine Problem': Black & Palestine Solidarity Teach-in."

The People's University
Take BAC's Black Curriculum | May 10, 2024
9:30AM - 11AM
Free Breakfast Program + Black Panther Party Teach-In
12PM - 1PM
Lunch & Learn: Bridging West Oakland and Gaza
1:15PM-2:30PM
Friday Jumu'ah Prayer
3PM - 4:30PM
The Black Lives' Houseless Matter: Care Package Making
5PM - 6PM
Art is Political: A Cyanotype and Artivism Workshop
6PM-7:30PM
"The Palestine Problem": Black & Palestine Solidarity Teach-In
8:30PM-10PM
Little Nairobi Screening and Discussion w/ Director Justice4Tyranny

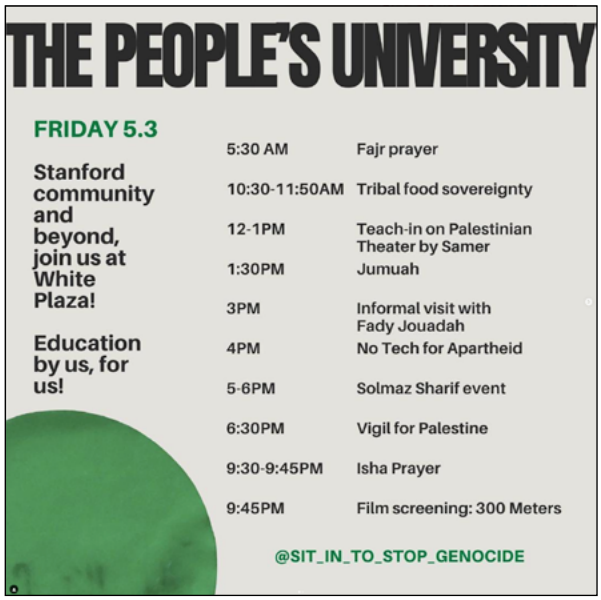

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY
@STANFORD
THURSDAY MAY 2ND
12 PM
ANALYZING PALESTINIAN PLAYS AND SCHOLARSHIP W/ DAVID PALUMBO LIU
4 PM -5 PM
HOW TO SUPPORT CAMP 101: ONBOARDING OFFICE HOURS
6:00 PM
CHILDREN'S THEATER: THE GAZA MONOLOGUES
7:00 PM
DABKE AS RESISTANCE: AL JUTHOOR DABKE
8:15 PM
SAAAC TEACH-IN: TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZING
9:30 PM
STUDY HALL + ISHA PRAYER


THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY
WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 2024
5:15AM Fajr Prayer
12PM International Law on Trial: Genocide and Palestine from the Perspective of the Global South
2PM Spirituality, Buddhism, and Non-Violence
8PM SAAAC "Lunch n' Learn" Translational Organizing
9PM Returning to Haifa: Screening + Talkback
Community-led programming on White Plaza lawn!
@SIT_IN_TO_STOP_GENOCIDE

teach-in:
From Việt Nam to Falastin
Intertwined Histories and Futures
thursday, 05/09
12-1 PM
@ The People's University of Palestine

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY
WHITE PLAZA | MONDAY, MAY 6, 2024
5:30AM Fajr Prayer
9:30AM Community Breakfast
11AM–12PM Land of Palestine, Seeds of Palestine, and Liberation Talk
12PM–3PM Somatic Offering: Grounding, Releasing Tension, Caring for Bodies and becoming comfortable with touching and moving together for barricading and locking arms
6–7PM Asian American Organizing and Solidarity with Palestine with Chinese Progressive Association of San Francisco and SAAAC
7PM Performance by Everyday People
7:30–8:00PM Dua/Prayer Circle
9:30–9:50PM Isha Prayer
10PM DJ Set

BRINGING
INDIGENOUS
REVOLUTION
TO CAMPUS
LESSONS FROM PALESTINE, KURDISTAN AND WALLMAPU
THURSDAY
MAY 9 · 6PM
THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY
WHITE PLAZA
STANFORD
SPONSORED BY INTERWOVEN LIBERATIONS


THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY
FRIDAY 5.3
Stanford community and beyond, join us at White Plaza!
Education by us, for us!
5:30 AM Fajr prayer
10:30-11:50AM Tribal food sovereignty
12-1PM Teach-in on Palestinian Theater by Samer
1:30PM Jumuah
3PM Informal visit with Fady Jouadah
4PM No Tech for Apartheid
5-6PM Solmaz Sharif event
6:30PM Vigil for Palestine
9:30-9:45PM Isha Prayer
9:45PM Film screening: 300 Meters
@SIT_IN_TO_STOP_GENOCIDE

CRIMINALIZATION AND POLICING OF PROTESTS

We have yet to see scenes at Stanford of police in riot ear forcibly dismantlin student encampments or thrustin protesters into police vans—as we have unfortunately seen at other university campuses across the country. The Sit-In to Stop Genocide persisted peacefully on White Plaza for four months, across from the Blue and White Tent that emer ed in response, and it ultimately disbanded without arrests. So far, the new encampment featurin a People's University for Palestine is also continuin in White Plaza without violent police removal. While Stanford's approach shows commendable restraint relative to some other universities, it has fallen short of the university's own declared principles for public safety. Stanford has, in fact, directed the arrest of peaceful protesters, durin the Family Weekend disruption in February 2024. Moreover, the excessive force used a ainst student activists elsewhere should not be the standard a ainst which we jud e our own university's conduct. Stanford should decide policy accordin to the best interest of its students and community, no matter how loud the punitive calls from members of Con ress, alumni, or donors to conform to repression elsewhere.

Weeks after the killin of Geor e Floyd by police in 2020, Stanford created a Community Board on Public Safety to "reima ine" policin on campus. In its first report, the Board adopted a set of core principles, be innin with the idea that, "Armed policin , particularly of student-centered areas of the community, should be reduced to the reatest extent possible." Interpretin this principle, the second report of the Board in fall 2023 advised the use of "lower touch, non-enforcement policin strate ies" to deter crime and solve problems, while reducin "perceived community harm."

Family Weekend

Despite these principles, Stanford has instructed police to arrest our students for peaceful protest, blurrin the line between violations of university rules and the criminal law. Ei hteen students face potential criminal misdemeanor char es of disturbin the peace after they disrupted a welcome event durin Family Weekend hosted by the President and Provost. Thou h disruptive, the protest was nonviolent; some students chanted slo ans like "Free Palestine," while others unfolded a banner near the sta e readin : "Stanford funds apartheid and enocide," and still others dropped pieces of paper from the balcony readin : "29,000+ Gazans killed." The university's Department of Public Safety (DPS) detained and issued citations to 18 students, who were also referred to OCS for disciplinary proceedin s.

Stanford's DPS coordinates closely with university leadership; President Saller explained to the Academic Council on May 9, 2024, that he and the provost meet on a daily basis with DPS, eneral counsel, and other administrators on matters of campus safety. The university chose to respond to the disruptions not only with disciplinary sanctions for violatin university rules, but with

police action leadin to criminal citations. As we understand it, the students were cited with a violation of California Penal Code 415(2), applicable to a person who "maliciously and willfully disturbs another person by loud and unreasonable noise." The violation can be char ed as a misdemeanor, with a jail sentence of up to 90 days or a fine, or as an infraction, and is potentially eli ible for diversion before the formal arrai nment (the court appearance in which a formal char e is brou ht). Even if the potential char e is dropped throu h a diversion pro ram after a defendant completes remedial measures, the arrest may remain on a person's record unless and until sealed.

While disruptin events violates university rules, arrests leadin to potential criminal char es amount to an unnecessary punitive escalation. We understand from Stanford administrators that the university decided to arrest these students at least in part because university staff cannot force students to identify themselves on their own, and the university needed to identify them to initiate disciplinary proceedin s. But this is an astoundin reason for involvin the police. Arrests should be used as a last resort when necessary to protect public safety; DPS should not arrest students on campus as a mechanism to obtain their names for OCS proceedin s. Nor should violations of university policy be treated as criminal offenses simply because a plausible offense—such as disruptin a person by "loud and unreasonable noise"—can be found somewhere in the state's sprawlin criminal code.

Althou h, to our knowled e, these are the only arrests that have resulted so far from student protests, Stanford has threatened to arrest students for peaceful protests on other occasions. On February 8, 2024, after the Sit-In to Stop Genocide had spent more than 100 days on White Plaza educatin the community about the Israeli occupation and the humanitarian disaster in Gaza, administrators abruptly announced that overni ht campin would end as of 8 p.m. that ni ht, with potential trespass char es a ainst those in violation. Delivered only hours before the deadline to clear the tents that had become a vital community space for many students, this ultimatum motivated hundreds of community members to show up at White Plaza, many linkin arms around the sit-in to protect it from the threat of police removal. While students ultimately ne otiated an end to the sit-in 10 days later, the threat of sudden removal and criminal char es that ni ht, and on subsequent ni hts, created si nificant fear and anxiety.

Reports of arrivin police officers or police cars tri ered tension, even panic, when they quickly spread on social media. Abrupt threats of police enforcement and criminal char es a ainst students who had peacefully protested in a space for four months with little incident seriously undermined trust.

Engagement with Security Agencies

Just as Stanford should maintain a very hi h bar for criminalizin students, it should likewise maintain strict protocols for en a in with federal law enforcement, immi ration, and security a encies. Like other Americans of South Asian, Middle Eastern, and African ori in, many Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian students have lived their entire lives in the shadow of repressive post-9/11 surveillance in their communities. They have seen members of their communities racially profiled, placed on terrorist watchlists, interro ated at airports, detained by immi ration authorities, and otherwise subjected to deeply racialized security enforcement in the name of counterterrorism. Stanford students have faced intimidatin FBI questionin based on their nationality, such as when the FBI arran ed "voluntary interviews" with Iranian students on campus in 2004. Based on these past experiences, the law school's Immi rants' Ri hts Clinic worked with the Bechtel International Center and other university offices to establish a protocol to advise Stanford community members contacted by the FBI for questionin and to refer them to local civil ri hts roups for le al assistance.

It is in li ht of that history that Stanford's announcement on April 30, 2024, that it had **reported a person sitting in White Plaza to the FBI, ecause he appeared to e wearing a head and similar to that of Hamas mem ers, struck many as exposing the community to national security profiling.** The identity of the person sittin in White Plaza was unknown; he was photo raphed seated at a table lookin down at his phone, not inside the encampment nor interactin with anyone around him. Apparently respondin to hundreds of emails about the photo, Stanford announced that it sent the photo to the FBI. Seein a headband on campus that resembled one worn by Hamas shocked many people and undoubtedly alarmed members of the Jewish community. But there should be a very hi h bar for callin the FBI, such as a requirement that someone be actin in a manner that poses a threat, rather than wearin insi nia alone, which is protected by the First Amendment no matter how offensive. And university messa es meant to reassure one community of their safety should not simultaneously send the messa e to another community that university administrators will report people to a federal law enforcement a ency notorious for profilin and investi atin communities. The chillin effects of this public announcement are obvious, and inconsistent with Stanford's professed commitment to free speech. Stanford should not use referrals to law enforcement to chill speech it itself cannot punish.

One former FBI a ent who surveilled students in the Bay Area, as part of counterterrorism profilin efforts that he later re retted, has noted, "There is this mytholo y surroundin the war on terrorism, and the F.B.I., that has iven a ents the power to ruin the lives of completely innocent people based solely on what part of the world they came from, or what reli ion they practice, or the color of their skin. And I did that. I helped destroy people. For 17 years." Stanford should not treat its community members as criminal or security threats for en a in in speech.

"They tell us we totally have freedom of speech… as lon as it's not outside Li Ka Shin Center [the main medical school buildin] or in any of the rooms." ***Medical Student***

"This has never been just about speech. It's about power and maintainin the hierarchy and status quo that suffer when speech is truly democratized. It is the appearance of democracy without its full or anization. In the past few months if there has been any silver linin in the discourse on colle e campuses and the like, it's been the very clear renderin of this dispute. But it is hard to look at the past few months, the beatin of faculty and students and allies across the country, and leave with an ar ument that these institutions have any absolute commitment to free speech and free expression. It's always been about maintainin power and a restriction not expansion of democracy. It's not surprisin how these administrators are staffed by people who don't know quite it means to be disempowered." ***Faculty***

"How the university dealt with the sit- in is very cowardly and not surprisin in any way. They levera ed their power in really unfair ways a ainst students who were really vulnerable. I don't think that's OK from administration, but it's not surprisin ." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"If you say the wron thin , even if the wron thin is 'stop killin Palestinians' that can very clearly and very quickly turn into a reason for blacklistin you." ***MAP Faculty***

The Palestine Exception

- Eliminate the Palestine exception to free speech and ensure that content-neutral rules are indeed enforced in an unbiased manner.

- Commit to protectin the speech and associational ri hts of students, student or anizations, and others advocatin on the Palestinian issue to hold events and access university support on the same terms as other students and student or anizations.

- Commit to consultin with Palestine-focused and/or Islam/Muslim-focused Stanford scholars and experts in any context that requires understandin the interpretation of Palestinian/Muslim slo ans, expressions, or advocacy.

- Reject the adoption of definitions of antisemitism, Islamophobia, or other terms that purport to set norms, standards, or disciplinary policy for the university.

Expansion and Clarification of Opportunities for Speech

- Clarify the protection for speech that applies to different sections of the Stanford community and in which capacities: faculty with tenure/tenure-track, academic staff-teachin , other staff, post-doctoral researchers, and students. With respect to staff: 1) protect the academic freedom of all staff servin in teachin or research roles without re ard to formal distinctions in hierarchy or status; and 2) reaffirm broad support for the free speech ri hts of staff actin in a personal capacity.

- Revise existin time, place, and manner restrictions, includin those applicable to student or anizations, the use of White Plaza, and posterin policies, to expand rather than restrict opportunities for student speech. Time, place, and manner rules are le itimate to the extent they enuinely protect the effective functionin of the university or its educational mission, or ensure the equitable use of shared spaces on campus, but should not otherwise be used to restrict or minimize student activism and expression, even if or when done in a content-neutral way.

- Reject attempts to revise university policy in any unit to limit opportunities for speech expression in response to Palestinian advocacy.

- Consult with the MAP committee in the appointment of any individuals or committees to implement the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on University Speech.

Consistency and Application

- Require units that show a particular pattern of speech suppression to train senior leadership, administrators, and faculty on free speech principles, includin the Leonard Law, and provide such trainin to all units upon request.

- Conduct re ular audits and reviews of the enforcement of time, place, and manner rules and other student disciplinary procedures to ensure they are enforced in an unbiased manner.

Law Enforcement

- Do not authorize either DPS or external police arrests of peaceful protesters. Prohibit the use of police to enforce disciplinary violations where there is not a threat to safety. Prohibit the use of police for the purpose of identifyin students for disciplinary proceedin s.

- Establish and update Stanford protocols restrictin communicatin with federal law enforcement, immi ration, and security a encies and providin support to students who are contacted for questionin by federal a encies.

- See also OCS recommendations.

"I wish there was a way to make people understand that me talkin about my Palestinian experience is not silencin the other side." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"On April 30, 2024 I found myself in an interestin conversation with multiple students about the visit of Salam Fayyad to the "Democracy and Disa reement" one-unit class. This was a ood example of the kind of knowled e exchan e that should happen, even on controversial topics, on a university campus. The conversation was substantive and detailed, took place over several weeks, and included discussion of advocacy techniques and the university's educational oals. But the conversation took place on Si nal, an encrypted messa in app, and all but three of the 20 or so student participants were usin pseudonyms to uard their identities because of their fear of the OCS cases that had been launched a ainst their peers that week for participation in the sit-in. When I met some of the students later, they were masked to conceal their identities from the cameras in White Plaza and in fear of disciplinary action." ***Faculty Member***

"I haven't even posted anythin in Slack. I wanted to post this [cool initiative] to see if anybody is interested in doin more of this or ettin involved, since it's related to our work, but I was too afraid to post. Honestly I am worried about job safety. Because the head of my team can hire and fire you at will. There are no repercussions." ***MAP Staff***

"I remember the day after [the sit-in] was one, oin into White Plaza and seein it was one. They didn't leave anythin . I remember cryin . It felt like we had lost somethin hu e. It was a place for everythin . I remember in the final days before it ot taken down, how me and others were buildin pipes, utter system. For a place that we poured so much love into, afterwards it felt like socially speakin , we had all scattered like birds. I remember feelin terrified that after that space was one, our community was oin to be one, that activism was oin to be one. I didn't know where to physically meet people from different parts of campus. I felt a lot less safe after that–I felt like I had less of a home to o to." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"I don't really talk much about it, because to me, I'm not sure where that will have me end up." ***MAP Staff***

"We have heard multiple reports of teachin assistants and faculty at levels who have been subject to complaints and reprimands for allowin students to walk out of class for protest, or chan in class times. This is new. There is a sense that this time there are undue and unprecedented rules for activities that otherwise would be seen as productive community en a ement." ***Faculty Member***

"Ima ine if [instead of scoldin students] the university said that 'we are keenly aware of what's happenin at other universities and we refuse to en a e in any act or behavior that would quell speech even if that's desired by outside interests.'" ***Faculty Member***

"For me, the on oin student sit-in at Stanford is a lan ua e unto itself, a collaborative practice that makes visible a presence of resistance, education and outra e in the face of such silence. These brave students of conscience have sacrificed their comfort in order to call us into dialo ue at a time when so many are afraid to speak. It seems theirs is a vision of effortful to etherness, a patchwork of tents, tables and resources — an evolvin rammar of rapplin and disruption." ***Faculty member in a Stanford Daily Op-Ed***

"We need to understand that somebody bein uncomfortable is not the same as bein threatened." ***Alum***

"How do universities think about the person for whom these topics are not merely abstract? How has it accounted for differences of power amon members in our community and how does it deal with the reality of these issues of consequence and what they really bear in real time on members of its mar inalized members? ***Faculty***

Vi rant Discourse

"What if the goal i not civil di cour e? What if in tead it' engagement with difficult idea in a precariou world? We are experiencing exi tential cri e — the current tate of political economie i going to lead to our extinction. Why do we keep reverting to civil di cour e a a mode of engaging each other?" —Faculty Member

"We u ed to want tudent who would change the world. Now we want tudent who can politely di agree." - Staff Member

Over the past year, Stanford administrators and select faculty have increasin ly called for a return to "civil discourse" on campus. The annual meetin of the Academic Council in May 2024 featured a panel discussion led by the provost on buildin students' capacity for civil discourse. A conference convened in the winter quarter explored how to restore "inclusive critical discourse" on campus. A new law school application optional question asked students to demonstrate their ability to en a e with different viewpoints; now the university is contemplatin askin somethin similar of prospective under raduates.

The MAP Committee has a different dia nosis of the problem at Stanford, and a different set of prescriptions. The primary challen e we face as a university is to cultivate vibrant discourse, not civil discourse. The project of fosterin the ability to disa ree across differences in a university community is vital, and many members of MAP communities at Stanford are already en a ed in doin so, as noted throu hout the report. We also reco nize that cultivatin "civil discourse" means different thin s to different people, and there is no sin ular definition of the term. But we reject several premises that appear to underlie certain common invocations of "civil discourse." We offer alternative recommendations towards the ideal of vibrant discourse on campus.

REJECTING THE PREMISE

First, calls for "civil discourse" often appear to come from a particular dia nosis of our students, the activism they en a e in, and the movements they support. For some, these calls appear motivated in part by skepticism of youn er enerations as unable to en a e in disa reement across differences—as bein more interested in talkin "at" each other than "with" each other. Proponents of civil discourse often seem to value the rarefied intellectual conversation of a classroom or an event hall sta e where authority fi ures and anointed experts politely disa ree, over the activism and or anizin that students often en a e in.

And the suspicion also stems from fears of the particular movements students are en a ed in: pro-Palestine and Black Lives Matter movements are especially sti matized as uncivil, unruly, anti-intellectual, mob-like, violent, or otherwise bad for university campuses. Students advocatin for Palestinian ri hts have been described as "the mob" in testimony before Con ress, and in countless news headlines they are accused of "spinnin campuses into chaos," cast as "terrorists" who "broke hi her education," and discussed as dan erous liabilities that need to be "handled." Articles published in the *New York Times* and *The Stanford Review* ar ued that both speech on Palestine not in accordance with Israel's political position and speech that invokes concepts such as settler-colonialism is dan erous because it is antisemitic, supports terrorism, and is antithetical to "our" values. An article in *Telos* located "anti-Americanism" in student activism, and an *Atlantic* article titled "The War at Stanford'' rewrote the war on Gaza as a campus "war." This all drew attention away from the intellectual and cultural work the students were actually doin .

Second, in certain quarters, the civil discourse conversation appears to be shaped by an apparent preference for a discourse around which the university itself can set the boundaries of le itimacy. This fails to reco nize that the borders of reasonable views are usually not fixed or objective but rather themselves a product of past and present arran ements of power.

And third, some calls for civil discourse appear to see it as a more suitable or politically acceptable—replacement for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI). A ran e of voices on the faculty and in leadership have expressed dissatisfaction with DEI as a framework, in accord with broader chan es in the national political discourse and the law, all of which has been subject to analysis at Stanford and elsewhere. Some see DEI as an "institutional orthodoxy" that should be replaced with a focus on civil discourse and debate: "DEI-sponsored 'trainin s' … inculcat[e] particular theories of social justice and privile [e] the "oppression" of some roups to the exclusion of others." Thus, in some accounts, the civil discourse frame is an effort to replace a discourse centered on roup-based oppression with one more focused on individual belon in .

We reject these premises. For one, we prefer to think of the university as a place where multiple discourse framin s are en a ed and evaluated, not imposed from above. But more fundamentally, we view our students differently. We celebrate that the student body in the U.S. is the most diverse in history, and we reco nize that these students have inherited a difficult world with existential challen es around climate chan e, racial injustice, economic inequalities, and lobal violence. Contrary to conventional wisdom, many Gen Z students are serious-minded and innovative about addressin these challen es. They value and embody empathy, authenticity, and collaboration, and "are fi htin for our humanity."

We reco nize that the inclusion of more diverse students who are directly affected by social justice issues will lead to increased disa reement and debate, includin passionate and heated debate, because there are more people on campus and in the classroom whose existence is at stake in the issues bein debated. We believe Stanford should welcome this.

We also celebrate student activism—as Stanford itself does in many of its memorials to past student activism, described above. We believe that activism, includin at times civil disobedience, is fundamental to student learnin and to the university's core mission of preparin students for lives of active citizenship. Speech in rallies, protests, and student teach-ins is part of the vibrant discourse we should want on campus, not competition for attention about which to be concerned.

In addition, we do not believe that the ideal academic conversation is always between "both sides" of an issue as defined by those in authority. Activists and academics alike often choose to hi hli ht an underrepresented position or advocate for human ri hts. In those contexts, there may be ood reason not to "balance" one position with an "opposite" position, just as we do not expect events with Ukrainian human ri hts advocates to invite supporters of the Russian overnment's invasion as a condition of their academic le itimacy.

Moreover, we reject the continuin attempts we see at Stanford to set the bounds of le itimate debate in a way that silences expression on Palestine. As a university that seeks to exercise lobal leadership, we cannot allow ourselves to be hampered by adherence to a particular set of political beliefs about either North American culture or a violent conflict on the other side of the world. Groupthink de rades both education and research; but that is where we are when it comes to Palestine on campus, a state of affairs that produces an er, sufferin , harassment, censorship, and most importantly, an i norance incompatible with our purpose as a university.

As we noted in our interim report and documented at len th above, speech on Palestine at campus is suppressed throu h "a variety of formal and informal means." Formally, there is speech suppression at all levels and repression of civil disobedience. Informally, there is a well-established culture of silence around Palestine that has only increased durin the lifetime of the committee. The examples documented in this report show how the culture of silence is created and maintained—how Palestine remains the third rail at Stanford.

The 120-day Sit-In to Stop Genocide in fall and winter 2023-24, the People's University encampment that be an in April 2024, and the university's responses to both are ar uably the most visible instances of this phenomenon. In both cases, the university chose for a period of time not to remove the student protests with internal discipline or external police. The committee commends this decision. But these student voices were not embraced or celebrated. They were instead described as inimical to the university: "The encampment, with its rope lines and perimeter of tents, is physically set up not to invite discussion but to shut out those who disa ree," wrote the president and provost. It is hard to see how this is compatible with the People's University's daily publication of its activity and event schedule with open invitations to all to attend. Ironically enou h, one of the first scholars that the students invited was Berkeley professor Hatem Bazian, who had been applauded by our leadership across campus for his messa e of respectful disa reement in October 2023.

Stanford is now sendin the messa e to students that activism is bad, that ettin en a ed with the issues they care about, that the country is in uproar about, is bad. We are sendin the messa e that they shouldn't share or learn; they should keep their ideas to themselves and watch out for their careers. We are sendin the messa e that, of all the issues that are in the air, the most controversial are the most dan erous and the most deservin of suppression and silence. We are teachin our students that Palestine and Israel are too hot to touch; too difficult to think about; too hard to learn. We are reinforcin this lesson with every action we take.

Many at the university have advocated for "civil discourse" as a way to meet current challen es. We a ree that discourse is our purpose, but we also think that "civility" has a specific history of bein used to draw boundaries around some ideas while leavin others outside. Our understandin of discourse is that it is inclusive—the job of the university is to brin ideas into the discourse in order to research and teach them.

We also believe that DEI and the expansion of diverse voices at the university continues to be key. Diversity creates debate and improves knowled e production: it is part of the work of the university. And the focus within DEI on understandin historical oppression is appropriate; attempts to foster the inclusion and belon in of traditionally mar inalized communities cannot be pursued at the level of individuals without reco nizin the historical and structural forces that have treated roups as unequal on the basis of identity.

Fortunately, as of now, Stanford remains committed to DEI, but we fear that the new paradi m of civil discourse will ed e out this commitment.

DISAGREEING ACROSS DIFFERENCE

Our concerns over the new push for "civil discourse" does not mean that we dispute the basic project of buildin skills for disa reement and persuasion. Faculty already value and teach the critical thinkin skills vital to every academic discipline. We support the development of basic skills-buildin around active listenin , ne otiation, and usin facts and evidence to assess positions. We welcome efforts to cultivate the core intellectual habits of questionin assumptions, adjustin beliefs based on facts, and appreciatin the co nitive illiberalism that shapes beliefs about our own roups and those of others. We support media literacy efforts, includin attempts to expand awareness of online disinformation and social media dynamics that amplify emotional exchan es. We also believe in teachin skills of persuasion; convincin others of one's position often starts from active listenin and deep understandin of another's position.

Efforts to set norms of respectful disa reement in classroom settin s are especially welcome. **For instance, we note the following principles for an inclusive classroom recommended by tanford Law chool's 2018 Working Group on Diversity and Inclusion, chaired by now-Provost Jenny Martinez:**

1. Respect the speaker, even when you do not a ree with or respect the point the speaker is makin .

2. Listen carefully; do not interrupt, even when you are excited to respond.

3. When you disa ree, make sure that you use ar uments to criticize the idea, not the person.

4. Try not to eneralize about roups (even roups with which you identify) and do not ask another person to speak as a representative of a roup.

5. Keep an open mind. Enter the classroom dialo ue with the expectation of learnin somethin new. Look forward to learnin about—and bein challen ed by—ideas, questions, and points of view that are different from your own.

6. Do not monopolize the conversation; ive others a chance to contribute to the discussion.

7. Brin out ideas, perspectives, or solutions that you think are not yet represented or haven't yet been adequately discussed.

8. If you are nervous about speakin in class, remember that your perspective is valid and the class deserves to hear it.

9. If a statement is made that offends you or you think mi ht offend others, speak up and challen e it but always show respect for the person who made it.

10. Private conversations durin class are not appropriate, especially when others are speakin .

11. Be conscious of body lan ua e and nonverbal responses. They can be as disrespectful as words.

12. Participate to the fullest of your ability. Community rowth depends on the inclusion of every individual voice.

But creatin the conditions for respectful disa reement in a classroom settin is only the be innin . The challen e of vibrant discourse requires far more—and not just of our students, but of the university leadership, faculty, and staff who hold power.

Recommendations

- Foster freedom of speech and academic freedom on campus, in line with the recommendations in the previous chapter, to create the conditions and reality of vibrant discourse.
- Build scholarship and knowled e production on campus, as discussed in the next chapter, to expand the research-based conversation between permanent faculty with a diversity of views on topics includin the postcolonial, Palestine, antisemitism, indi eneity, settler-colonialism, violence, diversity, representation, and contested history.
- Reject all litmus tests premised on students performin their capacity for "civil discourse" as a condition of admission. Ensure any new essay question for under raduate applicants does not threaten to screen out activists and those with stron value commitments. At a minimum, before incorporatin any new question for under raduate applicants modeled on the law school's new application question, do a ri orous evaluation of the results of that question bein included, rather than relyin on anecdotal impressions of its value.
- Increase course offerin s throu hout the university that address students' desire to understand the conditions and channels for social and political chan e, such as courses for under raduates on the political process and social movements or for law students on the relationship between law, or anizin , and social movements. Consider the SWOPSI model discussed in the Scholarship chapter below.

"University administrators don't seem to reco nize that their own policies are reflective of their identities—that whiteness IS an identity. They seem to have a belief that they are speakin from a position of reason and everyone else from a position of mere passion. A lon time a o people critiqued the notion that the public square was open to all, notin that power and difference mattered here, too. I wish that my collea ues at the university would show an awareness and understandin of how their own positionality and place in the social hierarchy shape the kind of speech rules they so frequently insist upon.

It is easy to say "calm down" when one has rarely had to defend one's own basic humanity. For some, the university is the first time they've en a ed some of these hard topics; for others of us, we've been havin these hard conversations our whole lives and have been forced to demand di nity at every turn. Many of us are simply tired. I wish my collea ues could empathize more with this reality, too."
Faculty

"The role of race and ethnic studies is to hold institutions accountable and refuse the knowled e projects that have made populations disposable." ***Faculty***

"You've been talkin about creatin a space for discourse and conversation for decades, since you started as a university, and it took us two si ns and a tent to do that." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"We're an educational institution, we should be about educatin . We are missin the education boat alto ether. This ives fertile round for offensive speech, anta onizin , otherin , dehumanizin ." ***MAP Staff***

"I almost chose not to attend Stanford because of the lack of Islamic Studies and Arab Studies. I remember as a hi h school student ettin advice from various mentors encoura in me to o to Princeton, because they had much stron er faculty in both cate ories. I ultimately didn't heed their advice, obviously, and I'm so lad I did—Stanford has shaped my life in so many wonderful ways, and I'm rateful for it. But this is a major ap in Stanford's academic offerin s, and it needs to be addressed; we end up losin a lot of incredibly talented students because of this." ***MAP Alum***

"There's a lot of teachin on this topic by uys like me, it would be reat to have other voices no doubt. We're so far from a place where we would have both voices at the same table doin events. I wish."***Po tdoc***

"Students and alumni have noticed a dearth of scholars, faculty (both tenured and junior), and academic scholarship on Palestine and the broader Middle East. Stanford is la in behind our peer institutions in these areas. Courses and research aren't oin to brin my family back but humanizin Palestinians is an antidote to the hatred oin on ri ht now." ***MAP Alum***

Scholarship and Knowledge Production

"...expanding Middle Ea tern Studie , you guy could have done thi 20 year ago - why didn't you?" – MAP Undergraduate

For the most part, Stanford's faculty neither address the substantive matter of Palestine in their research nor come close to approachin the diversity of experience and expertise found in the field internationally. This is part of a bi er problem: Stanford lacks scholarly expertise on the Arab world.

Stanford has a structural reliance on tenured professors that can produce bad outcomes. The failure to hire, and then to retain and tenure, scholars in these fields has meant that scholarly expertise (for example, on contemporary Arabic culture) can only be found amon overburdened non-professorial Academic Staff with insecure positions. While there are exceptional scholar-practitioners with diverse and relevant expertise in a variety of area-specific administrative leadership positions, their status as non-professorial Academic Staff, or as staff with quarter-specific instructor roles restricts their impact on campus knowled e production and climate.

When an issue is controversial, as Palestine has lon been within the U.S. academy, the burden of representation and teachin cannot be borne by the instructors with the fewest protections and resources. When students and leadership clamor for academic pro rammin , includin in response to eopolitical events, units turn to the tenured faculty. But they quickly find that there are exceedin ly few of those faculty at Stanford to provide the expertise or pro rammin they need. And because there is a well-established climate of fear, self-censorship, and silence when it comes to discussion of Palestine on campus, few people outside the faculty can speak to the issue with both credibility and security.

The absence of faculty–and subsequent absence of departments or pro rams–contribute to a self-reinforcin doom loop that leads existin faculty to leave and makes it harder to recruit new faculty. In 2024, Stanford may fail to retain its only scholar of Palestine, who also happens to be Palestinian. The fear and the absence of networks of support makes it harder for scholars to obtain tenure. There are so few scholars of the Arab world at Stanford that people can recall the names of those who left, even decades later. For example, Arabic and Islamic studies scholar Ahmad Dallal left Stanford in 2003, yet in 2024 people still remember his positive contributions to university discourse on the Arab world in the aftermath of 9/11.

Stanford recruits scholars throu h its departments and schools. The kind of investment in scholarship and knowled e production that the MAP Committee recommends can only come from the efforts of the current faculty, with the support of their deans, and the involvement of the Office of Development. For this reason, the analyses and recommendations of the faculty take center sta e in this section. We consulted extensively with the faculty of the Abbasi Pro ram in Islamic Studies and many other units in developin these recommendations. We have talked to 42 members of the Stanford faculty from at least 24 departments and units. They provided much of the content below, often in written submissions to the committee.

Faculty are also concerned that Middle Eastern and North African students do not see their voices represented, and therefore respected, amon the faculty. This inhibits students' rowth, their future ima inations, and their access to wider networks. The absence of experts in these fields and re ions diminishes Stanford's ability to recruit and retain scholars who have many options and demands upon their ener ies. It also creates network ti htness and discriminatory pressure: there are so few faculty in these areas that when Stanford does recruit, the resultin (usually junior) faculty are in demand to an unsustainable extent and this makes it harder for them to devote necessary time to their scholarship and achieve tenure.

Current faculty ri htly ask why Palestine and other Middle East experts would want to join a university when they can see that: a) it does not value junior scholars from and of the re ion; b) it lacks the supportin networks in other disciplines to attract and retain raduate students and other faculty; c) they would be constantly called upon to be "the voice" of the re ion since there are so few (or no) others with whom to share the podium; and d) they would have few collea ues with whom to share and build community.

Faculty reported an overwhelmin sense of professional vulnerability at Stanford, and said that the closer their scholarship ets to the issue of Palestine, the more uncertain their position becomes. They told the committee that if there was ever an ar ument for the tenure system, they see it now in the ways in which junior and contin ent faculty are acutely aware of their precarious position in the university.

Current faculty are also aware of the broader national pattern in which Palestinians and scholars of Palestine are disproportionately unable to secure tenure or face professional discrimination because of their scholarship on Palestine. In the North American hi her education discourse, the names of non-Stanford individuals such as Nadia Abu El Haj, Valentina Azarova, and many more reverberate.

“There is a clear sign of disregard on the part of our leadership [that] has greatly increased this community’s experience of vulnera ility at Stanford.”--Faculty Mem er

SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT IN TENURED FACULTY

Stanford has, over the last two decades, developed si nificant stren th in Islamic Studies. The university now has excellent scholars in anthropolo y, reli ious studies, history, literature, the arts, and more who work on Islam, broadly defined. We do not have such capacity in Arab or Palestinian Studies–capacious fields not limited to those two labels. Stanford has been innovative and flexible in hirin in Islam-related fields, and we have learned lessons that can be applied to hirin in Palestine Studies and Arab Studies. Stanford excels in buildin teams of tenured and tenure-track faculty workin across multiple disciplines and does not need to replicate the structures at peer institutions. Instead, it can lead the way in these fields: our Palestine, Arab, and Middle Eastern Studies pro rams can be the reason students choose Stanford.

This is an excitin opportunity for Stanford to establish a lon -term scholarly le acy in the study of the Arab World and the Middle East. Ten new tenured faculty lines in Palestine Studies, Arab Studies, and other fields of Middle Eastern Studies is the scale of intervention required to address the problems and aps identified in this report. It would brin us close to parity with our peer institutions. It is what our current faculty told us they want. The search for a postdoctoral fellow in Palestine Studies, approved by President Saller in April 2024, will be a useful opportunity to test the field in one subset of the planned investment.

Hirin postdocs is important, but the only lon -term meanin ful measure is to hire and commit to retain tenured faculty. This will increase faculty and raduate student representation in these fields, create opportunities to liaise with leadership, and provide uidance and mentorship to junior faculty, postdocs, and other affiliates. These multiplication effects are why Stanford needs to invest at scale: to ensure we can retain and support the scholars we hire. The university will also need to be very careful with any pre-tenure hires we make.

New faculty members doin innovative work in fields without a deep history at Stanford will need to be empowered to expand curricula and raduate student recruitment, research profiles, and viewpoints. This is why we recommend brin in faculty in roups, with a preference for scholars who are already tenured. Done well, this investment will enable Stanford to create new under raduate majors and coordinated interdisciplinary PhDs in these areas.

The rationale for such scholars is evident in the absence of their voices in the conversations that have dominated the campus since the be innin of this latest and most overwhelmin escalation in Gaza. But this is not the first moment in which existin faculty have been called upon to respond, for humanists and social scientists are the first to be asked to help make sense of events that appear to others as opaque. Senior faculty told us that they often find themselves relyin on junior or contin ent faculty to perform service in these moments, a mode of dele ation that is inappropriate with respect to workload and involvement in work that attracts political attention. Senior faculty know that they should not, for example, be askin their untenured collea ues to offer additional teachin on Palestine in 2023-24 (or on race in 2020-21) - but there is no one else to do the work.

NO MORE STALE MODELS

What fields, what search rubrics, should Stanford use across this decade of investment? The university's recent history in Islamic Studies, not to mention in many other new fields of knowled e across all schools of the university, ives us the confidence to recommend innovation. There is no need to replicate the stale models of the past. We need fresh, out-of-the-box perspectives on present and persistent issues that are nevertheless rounded in the sociocultural and historical fabric of the communities under consideration in Palestine and beyond.

The conflict between Palestine and Israel has taken up a reat deal of space in Middle Eastern Studies and related fields in recent decades, but Palestine itself has not been the subject of sufficient and ri orous research. Investment in Palestine Studies will therefore have an outsized positive impact on our investments in broader Middle Eastern Studies, and vice versa. These investments will also ride the wave of developments in the field, where both our own faculty and the Stanford University Press "Middle East Studies" list are leadin the way.

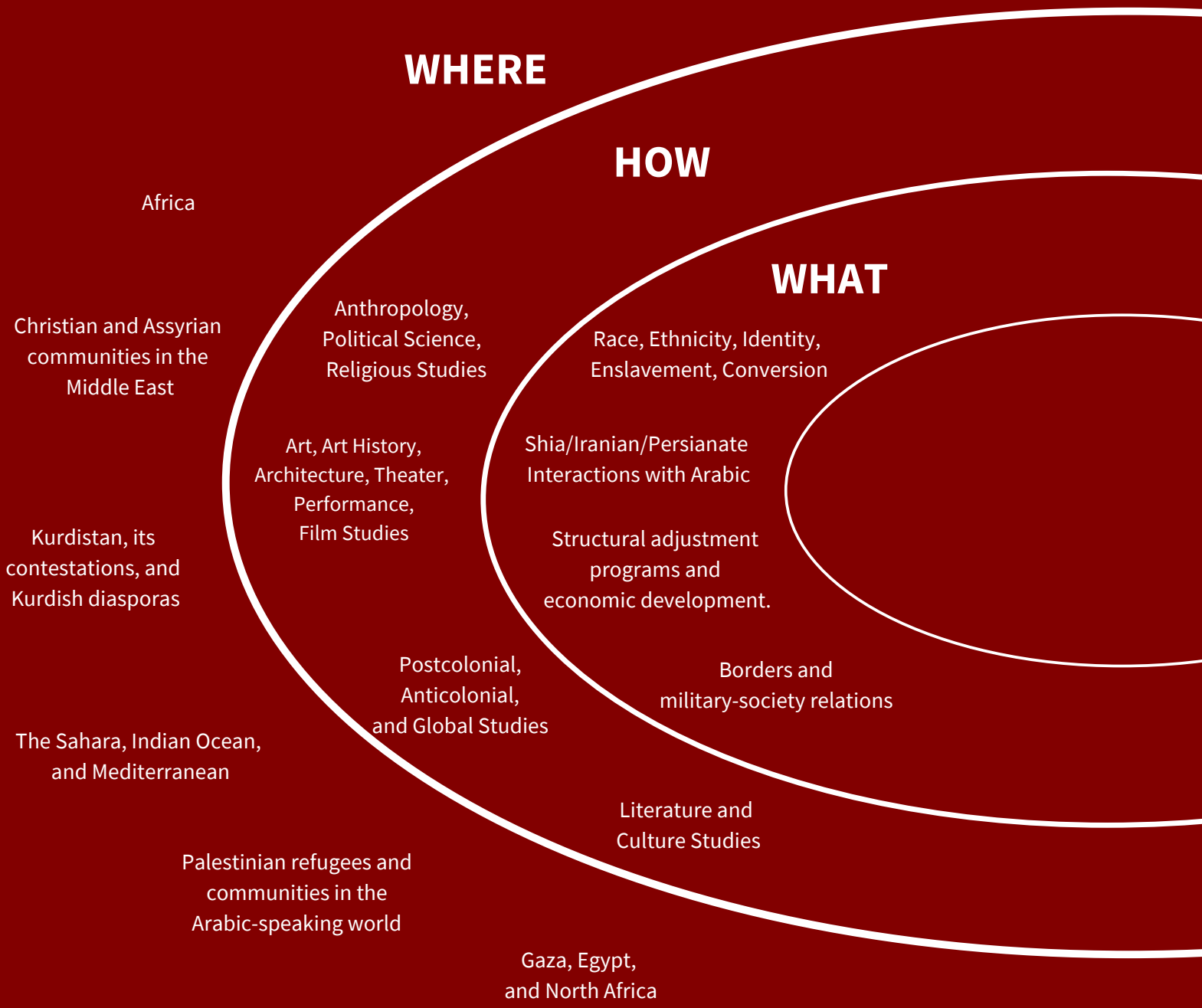
"They are not teachin about Palestine in Stanford. That's not where you're oin to et an education about Palestine. In the classroom? No way." ***Alum***

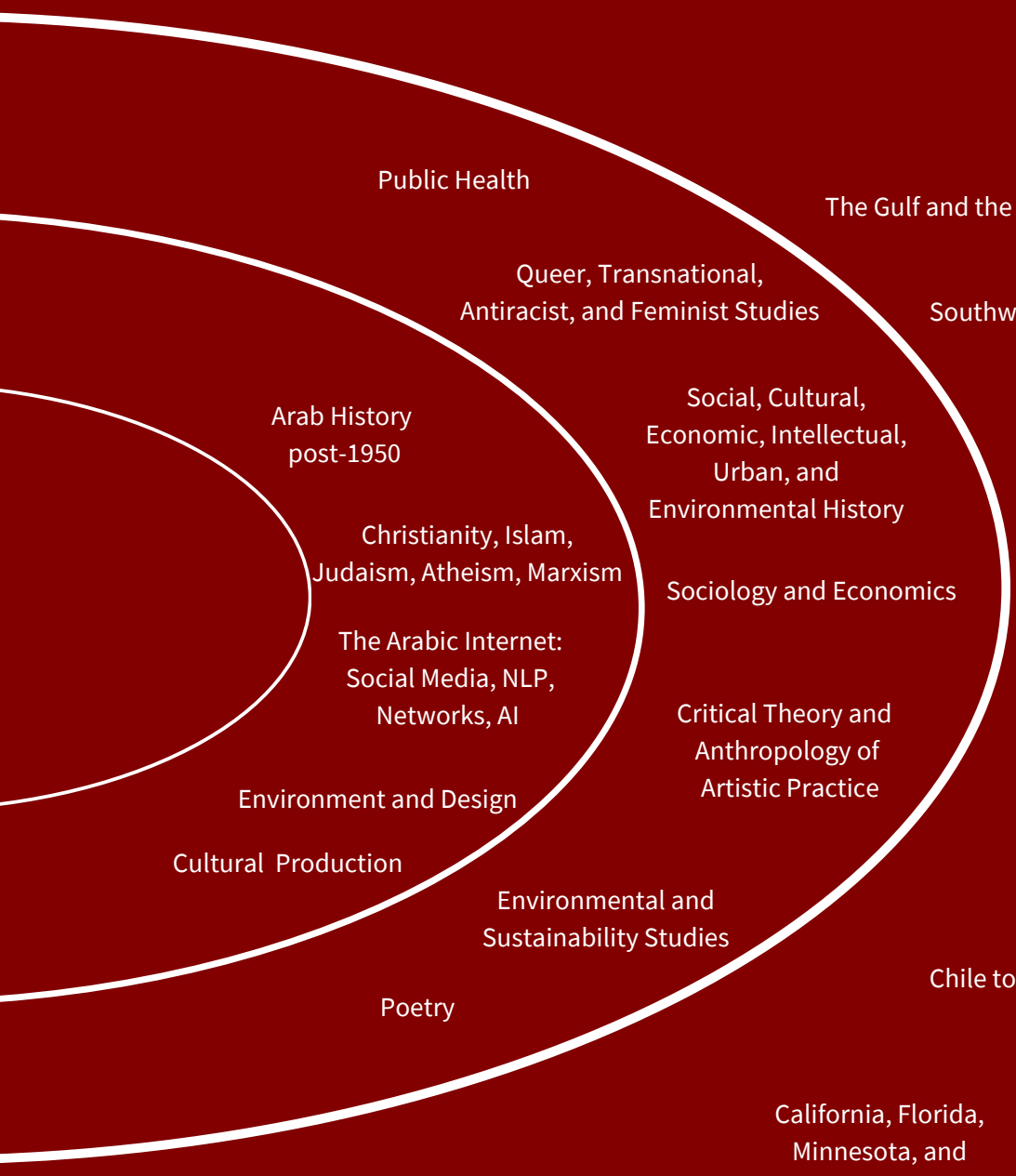
"Stanford mi ht need to ask the question: what constitutes a le itimate, distinct academic field? Palestine has at least 100 years of unique history that is disambi uated from the Arab re ion and Arab history. Because there's more than enou h scholarship to be done that needs to be done, and that's on oin . As [Edward] Said says, the question of Palestine is not a discrete thin ." ***Alum***

The graphic on the next two pages represents how Stanford faculty think a out potential investments in these areas, and it shows how "Palestine and Ara Studies" are capacious, flexi le, and open-ended areas of knowledge production. These are startin points for departmental conversations; this raphic is a snapshot of multiple Stanford scholars' thou hts-in-process and not comprehensive, representative, or close to complete. Each label can connect in any direction on the 360 de rees of the other two circles.

These are not narrow areas of scholarship in which we seek to hire, but rather a reflection of the latest cuttin -ed e trends in Southwest Asia and North Africa studies in the humanities and social sciences. They speak to a re ion of vast complexity and deep history, diasporas in all corners of the lobe, and political, cultural, and social currents that are takin center sta e in North America today.

“Palestine and Arab Studies”


WHERE
HOW
WHAT
Africa
Christian and Assyrian communities in the Middle East
Kurdistan, its contestations, and Kurdish diasporas
The Sahara, Indian Ocean, and Mediterranean
Palestinian refugees and communities in the Arabic-speaking world
Gaza, Egypt, and North Africa
Anthropology, Political Science, Religious Studies
Art, Art History, Architecture, Theater, Performance, Film Studies
Postcolonial, Anticolonial, and Global Studies
Literature and Culture Studies
Race, Ethnicity, Identity, Enslavement, Conversion
Shia/Iranian/Persianate Interactions with Arabic
Structural adjustment programs and economic development.
Borders and military-society relations


Public Health
Queer, Transnational, Antiracist, and Feminist Studies
Arab History post-1950
Social, Cultural, Economic, Intellectual, Urban, and Environmental History
Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Atheism, Marxism
Sociology and Economics
The Arabic Internet: Social Media, NLP, Networks, AI
Critical Theory and Anthropology of Artistic Practice
Environment and Design
Cultural Production
Environmental and Sustainability Studies
Poetry
The Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula
Southwest Asia and North Africa (SWANA)
Middle East and North Africa (MENA)
West Asia, the Mediterranean, and Europe
Egypt, Indonesia, and Senegal
Chile to Sweden via the Bay Area
California, Florida, Minnesota, and Michigan

STRONG UNITS WITH CAPACITY

The committee recommends investment in centers and administrative support commensurate with the investment in faculty. The existin Abbasi Pro ram in Islamic Studies, the Stanford Muslim Mental Health and Islamic Psycholo y Lab, the Division of Literatures, Cultures, and Lan ua es's (DLCL) Focal Group "PATH+," and the Middle Eastern Studies Forum in Stanford Global Studies, are natural places to start. As the committee noted in its interim recommendations: "Administrative resources are critically important. They are expensive in the Bay Area context, but in our conversations it has become clear that lean units are ineffective units that lack the capacity to connect with students and empower faculty and staff expertise."

We all appreciate the role of centers, pro rams, and units in facilitatin the kind of ideas and connections that produce hi h quality scholarship. Some note that the university mi ht consider additional institutional models to capture and amplify the collective ener y of the new hires. New structures in Stanford Global Studies (SGS) should come out of a holistic vision for investment with a clear mandate to enhance the study of the contemporary politics, society, and cultures of the re ion and its diasporas, lookin towards models such as The Institute for the Transre ional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia (TRI) at Princeton, or transformin the Middle Eastern Studies Forum into a separately funded center in SGS.

STRONG UNITS THAT CONNECT AND EMPOWER EXISTING EXPERTISE

Tenure is ood because it ives scholars the freedom they need to work unconstrained by the political controversies of the moment. At the same time, tenure is bad because it is a hierarchical structure that downplays and constrains the contributions of scholars and experts not on the tenure track. Stanford, and indeed North American academia, is constrained by this antiquated structure. Reform of the system is beyond the scope of the committee, but we reco nize that is the context in which we operate and we make our recommendations accordin ly.

The best way to ameliorate our inefficiencies and inequalities is with sufficiently resourced units that have the capacity to provide opportunities to all experts employed on campus, re ardless of faculty status. This is a different problem, and a different solution, from that addressed in the section above focused on faculty hirin . We are talkin here about benefitin from the intellectual contributions of our existin collea ues, rather than just supportin them in their administrative or strictly peda o ical roles. Stanford has made pro ress in this re ard in some units, and both the Provost's Committee on Lecturers in 2018 and the 3rd Committee on the Professoriate in 2020 made substantive recommendations in this direction: "Stanford relies on core academic teachin staff for the execution of the teachin mission of the university.

Core academic teachin staff include lecturers, senior lecturers and other non-academic council appointments that may involve a teachin role such as Adjunct Professors at Stanford. Given the importance of this roup to our teachin mission, we believe it is important to clarify their roles within the university, as well as identify and implement uidelines for career definition, development, and advancement in this line."

The benefits of these centralized initiatives have not extended to all scholars and teachers with expertise in MAP areas of study. This is a matter of resources, as well as an issue for leadership decisions. When a unit is already lean and attemptin to cover a reat deal, there is no space for development and advancement. This wastes our existin resources and contributes to the problems identified in this report.

Almost all the faculty the committee spoke with hi hli hted the need to support existin faculty and staff workin in the areas of Palestine and Arab studies, especially untenured affiliates, who make up the vast majority. These members are not only structurally vulnerable in American academic institutions, in eneral, but have also suffered reatly in the past year while providin elevated levels of pastoral care for students, or anizin and hostin additional events, and modifyin their courses. Palestinian lan ua e teachers, who are full-time faculty and scholars with decades of experience at Stanford, went into class on October 9 to teach Arabic to students of all back rounds and did so with success. They did the critical work of the university under pressure, but they lack sabbaticals, research support, and sufficient opportunities for promotion—all factors that prevent them from realizin their potential contributin to campus discourse. Faculty also noted with appreciation the Abbasi Pro ram staff's increased work on Palestine-related pro rammin , despite very limited capacity. We su est practical investment in these collea ues' career development and research opportunities, as well as substantive remunerative responses to the extra work these collea ues had to do in a time of crisis.

"The work of untenured language instructors, who make up the majority of our Palestinian faculty at present, should e highlighted in particular. Their increased la or supporting students and their tireless work throughout the genocide should e recognized and rewarded." - Faculty

UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING STRUCTURES

Over the last several years, Stanford has developed the COLLEGE pro ram, which is compulsory for the majority of frosh. Its sprin Global Quarter has the potential to be a space where—contin ent on the investment in tenured faculty recommended above—we teach under raduates how to deal with conversations about Palestine, the Arab world, the "War on Terror" with which our students have rown up, and the controversies about the postcolonial that continue to roil the An losphere.

It should also be anticipated that the investments that the committee is recommendin would help staff the “Why Colle e? Your Education and the Good Life” and “Citizenship in the 21st Century” COLLEGE courses in fall and winter. The stakes are hi h in these courses, and questions of political identity are at stake for our youn est students. They deserve additional empowered and secure faculty with diverse experiences.

COLLEGE lecturer Ameer Lo ins’ suspension from Stanford after initial accusations of “identity-based tar etin ” shows the human cost at stake in these teachin structures and curricula. In addition to bein suspended, Lo ins received a barra e of racist messa es and death threats after the media reported that he had sin led out Jewish students in his classroom on October 11, 2023. Lo ins’ lawsuit alle in defamation and discrimination presented a very different account of his classroom teachin that day. It also referenced a March 2024 letter from Interim Vice Provost for Under raduate Education Lanier Anderson reportin that Stanford’s neutral investi ation into Lo ins’ teachin showed that, while he made “unwise” peda o ical choices that indeed upset some students, “the evidence did not support a findin that [Lo ins] intentionally or objectively discriminated a ainst any of the students.” Not only does the incident reveal the hi h stakes for Lo ins, whose contract at Stanford was not renewed and whose reputation remained sullied despite bein cleared of the discrimination alle ation, but it also underscores the inherent tension in desi nin an under raduate teachin pro ram that addresses critical identity and political questions with a staff of many unprotected lecturers.

While structures like COLLEGE are crucial for under raduate education, it is equally important that the university supports students takin responsibility for teachin and learnin —even and especially when they press the faculty to expand the conversation. The Committee shares the view recently articulated by the president and provost in a messa e to students: “The true work of the university is the search for knowled e, which involves en a in deeply with those who disa ree, rapplin with complexity and nuance, and searchin for answers to ether.”

But when universities recruit a student body with diverse experiences and beliefs, especially durin a period of enerational shifts in politics, there will be a tension between the choices that leadership makes to curate certain debates and the choices students make when they seek to have the debates they want. Under raduate education is at the core of Stanford’s mission, but it does not just consist of the curated curriculum and conversations that faculty provide. It also happens amon students themselves.

In the current political moment in North America, the People’s University for Palestine encampment created in April 2024 in White Plaza and in coordination with peers across North America, represents important voices that contribute to campus discourse. It is led by under raduates and has been at risk of bein silenced by the university.

The time, place, and manner restrictions on speech will nearly always silence specific roups with specific beliefs and ideas: by definition the ideas outside the classroom will be those not permitted in the classroom. A university—especially a campus university—has to be able to listen to excluded voices and brin them into the conversation.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Stanford students developed Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI) "to study issues of local and national concern directly." At the time, the tou h topics dividin the nation included feminism, Marxism, and homosexuality. Almost all SWOPSI courses were offered for full academic credit. They were a esture in favor of knowled e production parallel to the People's University created this sprin by Stanford students. The difference is that whereas in 1969, the university reco nized the intellectual initiative of their students, in 2024, under substantial outside pressure, the university responded to the People's University of Palestine with disciplinary proceedin s. The police were not brou ht in to remove the students' encampment, but the decision to initiate OCS proceedin s a ainst 15-20 students with varyin de rees of involvement in the encampment had a chillin effect on knowled e production–quite the opposite of SWOPSI in 1969.

The committee recommends that the university take the events of 2023-24—what one senior faculty member described as the "definin moment of this eneration"—as a test for the university's work in under raduate teachin , and particularly those aspects of under raduate curricular pro rammin that are required for all students. A required core curriculum is a reat thin , and a wei hty responsibility. If it cannot cope with international tra edy and national turmoil, it has failed.

CONNECT AND COLLABORATE INTERNATIONALLY –WITH PALESTINIAN SCHOLARS

The committee heard stron support for pro rams that allow Stanford faculty and units to connect with students, collea ues, and universities at risk, particularly in Palestine. Many of the faculty and students to whom we spoke felt uneasy about advocatin for increased investment in MAP communities at Stanford when collea ues and students at universities in Palestine are sufferin on oin scholasticide. This is a reason to invest in exchan e and collaboration with scholars at universities in Palestine throu h residency/rescue pro rams such as Stanford's Scholar Rescue Fund.

Given the particular challen es Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim immi rants and visitors face due to discrimination in the U.S. immi ration system, Stanford should ensure staff are resourced—includin with le al expertise—to assist international scholars to navi ate those challen es.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Aim to make Palestine and Ara Studies the reason students and faculty choose to come to Stanford.

- Make substantial investment in tenured faculty at a scale equivalent to 10 new lines over a decade.
- Run a series of at least three well-resourced searches across three years, startin with Palestine Studies in 2025-26. Each search should uarantee a minimum of two campus visits for each participatin department. Include tar et-of-opportunity hires and offer departments the chance to run sin le-department searches.
- Invest in administrative support, centers, and units commensurate with the investment in faculty. Develop a holistic vision for a Center in Stanford Global Studies with a clear mandate to enhance the study of the contemporary politics, society, and cultures of the re ion and its diasporas.

Support existing untenured faculty and staff working in the areas of Palestine and Ara studies.

- Empower and invest in the untenured lan ua e instructors who make up the majority of our Palestinian faculty.
- Provide increased vacation time, relevant benefits or pay raises, research support, and/or course releases in appreciation of the additional work done by relevant staff and untenured faculty on Palestine-related pro rammin in 2023-24.

Connect and colla orate with Palestinian institutions of higher learning.

- Invest in a pilot pro ram to brin three faculty members or raduate students from Palestinian universities to Stanford for a period of several months each year, alon the lines of the Stanford Humanities Center Fellowship for International Visitors, but open across the humanities and social sciences.
- Draw the initial cohort from the universities that remain operational in the West Bank, and then open up the pro ram to scholars and students from institutions servin Palestinian refu ees in Lebanon and Syria, universities in Gaza, and Palestinian scholars inside Israel.
- Endow this pro ram and make it permanent, alon side permanent status for the Palestine Studies Postdoctoral Scholarship approved by President Saller in 2024, which currently has a six-year lifetime.

"When I was lookin to study Arabic, I never thou ht of Stanford to be honest." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"You have to build these structures and fora durin the relatively peaceful times. You can't build anythin when @#!% hits the fan. When @#!% hits the fan, people just revert to tribalism. It's a sociolo ical instinct. That's not the time to build brid es. When @#!% hits the fan, everyone oes to their tents, literally. When thin s are relatively peaceful, that's when you have to build these institutional thin s, you have to create these structures. It can't just be a quick response to a conflict. You have to build these institutions, these fora for dialo ues in the classroom or outside, you have to set it up and have it runnin for YEARS so when @#!% hits the fan, you have this institution you've already built that's already there."
Po tdoc and Graduate Alum

"There's definitely under-representation in faculty. [...] Lack of representation just means you don't have these people who think a certain way, who have these experiences. This is important for DEI—representation is the bi est thin . When you have more representation you et less extreme views, more from the middle. Particularly in faculty." ***MAP Alum***

"I don't even know what it looks like to be supported. I'm so used to havin to o throu h these thin s alone—that has become my benchmark. I don't know what that feels like. We were also tau ht not to expect it. Let me make sure others are not uncomfortable because I'm Palestinian." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"The academic support we et is very individualized and very request based. The academic support Israeli students et is institutionalized and identity-based. It's not for us." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"But if you never experience support, you don't know you're lackin it. It felt like my problem and it was for me to deal with it and keep oin ." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"I think it's a really undi nified thin to be be in for care from an administration who is supposed to be takin care of you and tout themselves as havin these unique resources 'just for medical students.' Everythin was from the student side, us takin care of each other." ***MAP Student***

Representation and Structural Support

In numerous conversations the MAP committee has had, the lack of Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian faculty, staff, and students across Stanford emer es as a core problem. The void is palpable: insufficient or nonexistent course offerin s, a dearth of visible thou ht leaders and advocates with intellectual authority and standin , a smaller number of events bein offered around MAP issues, too much pressure on too few people to educate and support the campus community, and perpetual collapsin /conflation of MAP identities. This may take the form of conflatin Arab and Palestinian identities—which are diverse and not all "reli ious"—with Muslim identity, thereby makin Christian and other identities invisible. It can also take the form of referencin Palestinian identity as simply "Arab" in a way that erases Palestinians' national identity and the distinct forms of tar etin they experience.

In this section, we hi hli ht faculty, staff, and student representation at Stanford, as well as existin institutional structures at Stanford and how they support MAP communities, and follow that with our recommendations on stren thenin representation and improvin structures.

FACULTY, STAFF, AND STUDENT REPRESENTATION

"Most of the previous conversations have een on an identity that we already collect num ers on. We don't have counts of representation here; this is new unchartered territory." –Staff Mem er

A larin issue with understandin MAP representation is the lack of demo raphic data on these communities. With the exception of self-reportin by students or faculty in some IDEAL surveys, the university has not collected actual numbers on MAP and MAP-adjacent identities. Many of these identities are subsumed within other cate ories (such as "White" or "Asian"). Some exit surveys of PhD, masters, and under raduate students have recently had a "Middle East/North African" (MENA) cate ory added, thou h publicly available demo raphic data does not yet reflect this cate ory. (We note that the MENA and MAP cate ories are not identical; the MENA cate ory includes people from the Middle East and North Africa who do not identify as Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian, and the MAP cate ory includes people from re ions outside the Middle East and North Africa.) We hope to be involved in further stren thenin such survey efforts as well as extendin them to publicly available entry surveys of matriculated students.

Faculty

In 2016, the student roup Who's Teachin Us presented their list of demands to the university. Their substantive complaint was that Stanford's faculty, at 70% white and 70% male, was not able to deliver a sufficient quality of education to a student body that was substantially more diverse. In an IDEAL survey in 2021, 23 faculty out of 869 who completed the survey self-identified as Middle Eastern or North African, whether or not in combination with other racial or ethnic cate ories. In 2024, Stanford may fail to retain its only scholar of Palestine, who is also Palestinian.

Despite the enuine commitment of university leadership to redressin the imbalance throu h the IDEAL initiative, the Stanford Academic Council faculty remains in pretty much the same place as it was in 2016: 68% male and 64% white accordin to the IDEAL dashboard. Faculty diversity has not substantially increased despite the existence of initiatives like the Faculty Incentive Fund, which "helps make it possible for departments and schools to make incremental appointments of qualified individuals who would brin diversity to the faculty."

Staff

In 2021, 193 staff out of 7,972 who completed the IDEAL survey self-reported identification with the MENA cate ory, whether alone or in combination with other racial or ethnic identities.

Anecdotally and throu h our listenin sessions, it is clear that there are MAP staff scattered across the university in various units with considerable experience, expertise, and investment in the institution. It is also clear that MAP staff are somewhat under-represented in senior positions. To be in to remedy this, Stanford can do a better job of trackin this data by includin identity cate ories such as MENA, with opportunities for more ranular reportin so that staff can self-identify throu h IDEAL or similar future surveys.

Stanford should also continue to recruit diverse pools of applicants for staff positions and dismantle traditional barriers to racial, ethnic, and reli ious diversification in hirin processes. Most importantly, Stanford can levera e the expertise and representation we do have, especially in moments of crises that directly impact relevant communities.

To some extent, Stanford has done this by settin up the MAP Committee, and we address the merits and challen es of that structure below. But throu hout this crisis, the committee has observed that staff representation from MAP communities is often ne li ible in the conversations that matter. For instance, President Saller noted in his remarks to the Academic Council on May 9, 2024: "A team from the Office of the Vice Provost for Student Affairs, the Office for Reli ious and Spiritual Life, the Department of Public Safety, the Office of General Counsel, and Buildin 10 have met daily, mornin and ni ht, includin weekends, to monitor the situation and to discuss the best approach to avoid violence and to minimize disruption." To the best of our knowled e, no staff representin MAP communities or with expertise in MAP issues have been invited to participate in these meetin s—despite the MAP communities bein at the center of the "situation" bein monitored. While it may not be possible to represent all communities in decision makin in acute moments of crisis, diversifyin the perspectives in the room can improve decisions and reduce distrust between communities and leadership.

Students

Incomin under raduates are asked about ethnicity each year, but as recently as the survey of the Class of 2027, there was no MENA or related option. The 2021 IDEAL survey reports 75 under raduates and 127 raduate students who self-identify as MENA alone or in combination.

Under raduate Admissions Office staff told the committee that they "don't see a lot of Palestinian kids" and would "be curious to learn from the Markaz" about student demo raphics and who is bein served, which only affirms the need for better data and lon itudinal trackin . Recent federal uidance, in revised OMB Statistical Policy Directive 15 (SPD 15), updates federal standards to include Middle Eastern or North African as a new minimum cate ory to collect information on race and ethnicity. While universities take steps to comply with this latest SPD 15 revision, they can implement many of its chan es more rapidly for internal surveyin purposes.

EXISTING STANFORD STRUCTURES FOR MAP COMMUNITIES

Stanford has established some institutional structures and staffin positions that support MAP communities on campus and have proved to be critical especially in this moment. In the absence of these structures, the committee believes the MAP experience would have been much worse. Many students especially noted the importance of places like the Markaz for providin a safe space and resources, or initiatives like the Abbasi Pro ram for attemptin to fill the academic ap on discourse about Palestine.

Even so, these structures and their resources continue to be exhausted both in financial and staffin capacity. The committee describes each one below and follows with recommendations on how Stanford can stren then these structures so they can deploy resources, levera e networks, and provide robust and reliable support especially in times of crises.

The Sohai and Sara A asi Program in Islamic Studies

In 2003, the Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Pro ram in Islamic Studies was endowed and established as the central hub at Stanford University for the study of Islam and Islamicate societies and communities. The Abbasi Pro ram's successes in developin Islamic Studies are discussed in the precedin chapter.

The Markaz Resource Center

In 2013, the Markaz Resource Center was established after years of advocacy by students, staff, and faculty. The center supports Muslim and Muslim-adjacent students: that is, those who identify as Muslim on a diverse and broad spectrum, or those who are Muslim-adjacent in the sense that they come from cultural, social, familial, political, re ional, ethnic, or national contexts tied to Islam and Muslim communities. The center also supports students who are not Muslim but interested in a wide variety of issues related to these communities.

Althou h "Muslim" is an umbrella term used here to capture a diverse set of identities, it must be noted that ethnic or national identities such as Arab and Palestinian cannot be subsumed under the label "Muslim." (The same principle applies for other roups, like Turks, Iranians, or North Africans.) Makin these distinctions is critical, because 1) not everyone with these ethnic or national identities is Muslim (Palestinian Christians are only the most obvious example, even settin aside Palestine's storied history of atheist and Marxist political movements); 2) racism and bias a ainst people from these communities isn't always rooted in Islamophobia but sometimes in ethnic hatred such as anti-Arab or anti-Palestinian bias; and 3) especially relevant to this moment, the issue of Palestine is not a "Muslim" versus "Jewish" issue althou h it is often framed as such.

The Markaz, thus, has supported and continues to support a wide ran e of identities across the years and at no time has it been clearer than in a post-October 2023 Stanford, when students with diverse and intersectin identities involved in pro-Palestine advocacy have found safety and community at the center.

The Markaz be an on a pilot basis in the 2013-14 academic year, followed by fixed-term Director and Associate Director positions and an annually renewable operatin bud et for almost a decade. It is only as recently as March 2022 that Stanford ranted the Markaz permanent base fundin , and as recently as March 2023 that the university made permanent the Director and Associate Director positions. A new Assistant Director position was approved in December 2023 as a two-year fixed position after the MAP committee was formed and the current Markaz Director be an servin as co-chair. The Pro ram Coordinator position—funded by The Stanford Fund (TSF) allocation provided to the Centers for Equity, Community, and Leadership (CECL) for five years—be an in Au ust 2023 and ends in Au ust 2025.

Despite its uncertain status throu h much of its history, the center has built stellar pro rams within the decade in the areas of mental health and wellness, culture and arts, social and community buildin , alumni en a ement and mentorship, and academic fellowships. In particular, partnerships with academic units such as the Abbasi Pro ram in Islamic Studies, the Center for South Asia, and the Center for Comparative Studies in Race & Ethnicity (CCSRE) have been pivotal in providin MAP students opportunities to explore academically disciplines, issues, and re ions that matter to them and that they would otherwise be unable to explore because of the lack of academic offerin s. For example, in the absence of any established institutional pathway for students to specifically research or explore Palestine, the CCSRE-Markaz Palestine Fellowship, set up in sprin 2023 and launched in fall 2023, is the first (and so far the only) institutional opportunity focused solely on Palestine. The value of this very modest fellowship bein in place already before October 2023 cannot be overstated.

In our listenin sessions, students, staff, and faculty repeatedly emphasized the si nificance of the Markaz especially in the current political and campus moment. In the early aftermath of October 2023, Markaz professional staff mobilized to support not only students but also staff, faculty, and alumni who became en a ed in campus events. The Markaz absorbed everythin : supportin students who were doxxed, threatened, or harmed; connectin those directly impacted by the war in Gaza with relevant campus administrators and resources; helpin students with event or anizin in a climate of fear; brokerin meetin s with student activists and the administration; advisin faculty, staff, and alumni on how to support students. As of this writin , this work continues at an unrelentin pace, in addition to re ular Markaz pro rammin , which is also critical for student community and belon in .

"The Markaz Center for me has een a great place of coping and safety and I remem er in the initial weeks of all of this people coming there and eing very defeated. People sleeping there. You could sense tension. You could sense people felt sad and safe in that space ut that it didn't extend to other space." MAP Undergraduate Student

"One fond memory that I've een talking a lot a out as my time at Stanford winds down, I lived in FloMo which was super close to the Markaz. My friends would always ask where are you always going. "The Markaz." One day my friends said, "It's so nice that you have somewhere you can go to so frequently." MAP Undergraduate Student

"I guess the Markaz is the closest thing to the university providing us a sense of safety and a sense of trust which is really important and I appreciate that." MAP Undergraduate Student

Stanford has made some investments in the Markaz that have been enerative. MAP students, staff, faculty, and allies continue to express appreciation for this. At the same time, this moment has underscored constraints around human resources, lon evity, strate ic plannin , and space. In order for the Markaz to be a stron and reliable structure at Stanford with campus-wide impact, the university can do more to solidify its permanency and potential, especially as MAP communities row on campus.

Stanford Muslim Mental Health and Islamic Psychology La (SMMHIPL)

In 2014, Dr. Rania Awaad, Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at the School of Medicine, established the Muslim Mental Health and Islamic Psycholo y Lab (SMMHIPL). The lab is the first and only one of its kind and "serves as an academic home for the study of mental health and psycholo y in the context of the Islamic faith and Muslim populations. The Lab aims to provide intellectual resources to clinicians, researchers, trainees, educators, community, and reli ious leaders workin with or studyin Muslims." Additionally, the lab serves as a pillar of Muslim life at Stanford as it exemplifies an or anization with a track record of meanin ful and impactful research that affects Muslim communities around the world.

In the last decade, research from the SMMHIPL has resulted in numerous publications and awards, as it tackles a ran e of critical and diverse healthcare and related issues facin Muslim communities across the United States and the world. The lab's work ran es from Islamically rounded and culturally appropriate suicide prevention and response trainin s to research on taboo topics like substance abuse and addiction.

The SMMHIPL has also helped curate and conduct critical trainin s about Islam, Muslim mental health, and Islamophobia for institutions and their leadership and staff across the country, includin at Stanford.

The SMMHIPL has also helped advance mental health services for Muslim students at Stanford. Research conducted by two of the lab's students, under Dr. Awaad's uidance and advocacy, led to the establishment of the Muslim Mental Health Initiative (MMHI) at Stanford in partnership with Maristan. This partnership was approved in sprin 2022 for a pilot year and allowed renewed fundin for one more year in fall 2023. That this initiative was already in place before October 2023 allowed students in both acute and chronic crises durin this time to access critical 1:1 therapy services and attend bi-weekly support roups. MMHI fundin , however, continues to be uncertain, which makes it difficult to plan for services for subsequent years.

Advisor for Muslim Life

In 2017, the Office for Reli ious and Spiritual Life (ORSL) established an Associate Dean for Reli ious Life and Advisor for Muslim Life full-time position. This position is understood by students to serve functionally as the "Muslim chaplain" role more commonly found at other institutions, which typically centers pastoral care for students. At Stanford, reli ious life is structured differently than at other campuses. Here ORSL tends to the reli ious and spiritual needs of the campus in non-sectarian ways as outlined in Stanford's foundin rant and charter, a document that reinforces Christian he emony and establishes a Protestant secular ethos for the university.

While ORSL staff come from diverse reli ious back rounds, the role of a reli ious advisor is often fulfilled by Stanford Associated Reli ion (SAR) advisors, who are reli ious professionals that work with Volunteer Student Or anizations (VSOs). Some VSOs have professional staff and off-campus or anizations that support them. Outside of University Public Worship, ORSL does not provide any reli ious services for students. Rather, it facilitates the SAR roups in mana in that. Institutionally, that means ORSL relies on outside or anizations to provide for the particular reli ious needs of diverse roups.

Most Protestant SARs, alon with the Catholic and Jewish SARs, have reli ious staff that play this role of chaplain for their communities. However, the Muslim Student Union (MSU) is entirely student-led and run and does not have an outside sponsorin a ency like the Catholic Diocese or Hillel that provides reli ious professionals to uide student reli ious life.

In the last two years, the current Associate Dean for Reli ious Life and Advisor for Muslim Life has successfully served in the ORSL role as structured at Stanford, while also offerin consistent study circles and pastoral care to students on top of the formal expectations for the role.

In addition, this Associate Dean ends up servin as a de facto advisor to the MSU and collaborates extensively on securin space for weekly Friday prayers, plannin month-lon Ramadan pro rammin (such as ni htly iftars and prayers), as well as Eid prayer and festivals twice a year. As the community has rown, findin space and resources to accommodate these needs has become challen in . Friday prayer attendees avera e 250 per week durin the academic year and 150 per week durin the summer dependin on summer pro rammin .

Moreover, there is a lar e lobal Muslim community on campus resultin in tremendous intra-Muslim diversity and a ran e of ideolo ical and identity-related issues that require pastoral care. As lobal and national crises continue to have local impact on a rowin Muslim community at Stanford, the need for consistent and reliable pastoral care is even more evident. Finally, in terms of Muslim life at Stanford, the university in eneral has made considerable pro ress in accountin for reli ious needs of students, from various prayer spaces to dietary needs to reli ious celebrations. There is still a need, however, to standardize some of these accommodations across campus.

MAP Committee

In 2023, as a result of increased harm incidents due to anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab bias and Islamophobia, Stanford established this committee to provide recommendations on improvin the experience of MAP contin ents at Stanford and on education around these communities and related issues. The committee formation and member recruitin process was an early preview and affirmation of the fact that MAP representation at Stanford is lackin and that workin on issues related to Palestine continues to be risky on both personal and professional levels.

The committee is currently composed of six official members and four student consultants and researchers. Since its formation, the committee has completed an interim report and this final report to evaluate MAP community needs and offer recommendations, in keepin with its primary mandate, while also performin a si nificant secondary role in tria in frequent crises and respondin to institutional communications or decision-makin vis-a-vis MAP communities.

Moreover, the MAP Committee itself represents expertise and experience amon the faculty and staff not only concernin Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities but also on other issues pertainin to Stanford specifically and hi her education broadly. That Stanford has created and re ularly confers with this committee is a step in the ri ht direction for the institution.

However, the serious underrepresentation of MAP community members in other important decision makin channels persists. Committees and fora on si nificant university issues, like the Ad Hoc Committee on University Speech,

PIH reform committee, and the Vice Provost for Student Affairs search committee continue to lack MAP representation. The one entity which has actual representation of MAP communities is the MAP Committee itself. This means that when relevant university committees interact on matters of shared concern such as free speech or antisemitism or residential education, MAP community members are only able to en a e from inside an identity-specific box—not as scholars or members of the university community. Committee members have to advocate for the communities we are tasked to represent because no one else is doin it. At the same time, membership on this identity-centered committee and the tremendous work it entails limits participation of these committee members in the broader work of the university. The answer cannot be to ask the same handful of people representin MAP communities or perspectives to serve on every committee; it is to expand representation as a whole so that diversity is or anically present across institutional structures.

Other Stanford Units

It is critical that Stanford invest more in existin structures that serve MAP communities specifically, but it is also essential that students, staff, and faculty from MAP communities are embedded in the broader institution and its substructures, includin (but not limited to) the Centers for Equity, Community, and Leadership (CECL), Counselin and Psycholo ical Services (CAPS), ResX, Career Services, and the Bechtel International Center.

Centers for Equity, Community, and Leadership (CECL)

Many MAP students have intersectin identities and have found community and safety at the community centers, known as CECL, a collective of cultural, community, and resource centers at Stanford, which includes the Markaz. Additionally, pro-Palestinian advocacy on campus—from campus teach-ins to the sit-in—has motivated students of diverse back rounds and identities, often those who do not identify with any of the MAP identities, and who also find themselves represented and supported at CECL.

Durin our listenin sessions, students, staff, and faculty noted the value of CECL as a form of structural support, while also pointin out that CECL's expression and speech was surveilled in ways that hindered that very support. As one CECL member noted, "Nobody should be silenced. I would like Stanford to really think about what their ori inal mission was versus what it is today and what that means. For a space to come out and say with their full chest in 2020, "Black Lives Matter!" but for them to do their best to silence folks now with issues oin on with Palestine and enocide, it doesn't make sense, and it feels like it's in contradiction of each other. Why is it ok to stand up for Black folks in America but not for Palestinians and Palestinian Americans?"

The institution-wide silence on Palestine across the board is felt deeply by students, but the silence from CECL is especially palpable, not least because of the centers' social justice mission and their structural positionality to support the students involved in advocacy, but also because a comparison is often made between the community centers and Hillel or between the Markaz and Hillel.

There is a widespread misperception amon MAP communities and other campus communities that Hillel is a Stanford unit and therefore bound by the same set of policies and oversi ht that other units—such as CECL—would be. This misperception is a result of many factors: Hillel at Stanford is located centrally on campus and functions similarly as a community/resource center. More importantly, Stanford presents Hillel as parallel to the Markaz in official communications, and refers to it as a Stanford resource in communications with external audiences. In reality, Hillel is not a Stanford entity, nor is it part of the CECL or VPSA or ORSL structures, and therefore does not report to the President's or Provost's Offices.

However, because of aforementioned factors, MAP communities, MAP allies advocatin for Palestine, and indeed all Stanford communities experience Hillel in the same way as they do other community centers, and the idea that Hillel is a Stanford unit persists. This perception has become especially salient at this moment in time on the issue of permissible speech. For example, staff at the Black Community Services Center were notified of hei htened surveillance after supportin their students' pro-Palestine speech, and the Markaz and other centers were discoura ed from similar communications. At the same time, Hillel shared definitive political positions and issued calls for political action, and Chabad, another non-Stanford entity, funded student advocacy throu h the Blue and White Tent. When juxtaposed with CECL speech surveillance and the prohibition of units' support for the sit-in, many community members perceived these differences as asymmetric and inequitable. In this critical moment, when MAP communities and allies already feel unsupported in the university at lar e, CECL is a structure they have looked to for support. However, limitations on CECL and the perception that different standards are applied to Hillel has both undermined CECL's potential and led to further institutional distrust amon MAP communities and allies.

We defer to the recommendation made by the Task Force on Jewish Admissions that "the university clarify its relationship with Hillel." On CECL, however, we note unequivocally that hei htened surveillance and restrictions on what the centers can say on Palestine have impeded their ability to fully support the student communities they are meant to serve. We also note that such restrictions are likely to have a chillin effect down the road on other issues in which CECL and its communities have even deeper stakes.

ANTI-ZIONIST JEWISH COMMUNITIES AND ANTISEMITISM

While our focus in this chapter is MAP faculty, staff, and students, we are choosin to briefly discuss anti-Zionist Jewish communities at Stanford, because so many faculty, students, and alumni who identified as such opted to participate in listenin sessions with us. Antisemitism and the Jewish community at Stanford are not part of the char e of our committee. Nevertheless, in this particular context and moment, both have become part of our work.

Our vision of Stanford is one in which all Jewish students and community members thrive just as MAP students and community members thrive. We reco nize that antisemitism is a problem at Stanford and always has been, from the Protestant foundin of the university, to antisemitic admissions policies in the 1950s and decades of subsequent willful denial, to contemporary incidents detailed in the work of the Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias subcommittee and its reports. When Jewish students report not feelin safe on campus, or express that they cannot be their authentic selves in their classrooms or dorm rooms, we have all failed. All Jewish students deserve to thrive, supported by a ran e of diverse community institutions with variant political positions—all of which are equally part of our university community.

Durin MAP Committee listenin sessions, anti-Zionist Jewish students told us they participated in the pro-Palestinian sit-in, rallies, and the encampment, and felt connected with MAP members across campus. These are some of the comments we heard:

"Every time I hear 'Jews don't feel safe in XYZ climate, usually pro-Palestinian climate' I think of all the Jews wearing kippahs at these pro-Palestinian rallies who are running security. They are visi le in their Judaism and are fundamental to the pro-Palestinian movement. Some ody reconcile that for me." ***Alum***

"There is a significant group of Jewish students here [at the sit-in], and this is the first Jewish community in which I have felt welcomed at Stanford." ***Jewi h Student***

"My Judaism is very personal to me; I don't make a point of looking out for anti-Zionist Jewish faculty. I identify more with Palestinian lecturers, there is a cultural affinity." ***Faculty***

We also heard from these community members a need for specific structural support from Stanford. As one student said, “I am Jewish, but [existin spaces on campus] alienate you the moment you criticize Israeli crimes.” They also specifically noted needs around mental health, and even faculty expressed a fear of bein doxxed for supportin the pro-Palestinian cause: “I do fear. I don’t want to be doxxed. I don’t want to be attacked unfairly. We’re all just livin in this fear.”

Staff from Counselin and Psycholo ical Services (CAPS) affirmed this need, notin that several anti-Zionist Jewish students were conveyin a lack of belon in . Many Jewish students came to the Muslim Mental Health Initiative (MMHI) support roups that the Markaz or anized, but the question of structural and community support for these students remains outstandin .

Inevitably, we also heard from them the importance of disa re atin antisemitism and anti-Zionism, a position critical to their pro-Palestinian advocacy and their diver ence from other Jewish or pro-Israeli voices. As one alum said, “I think we have to be very careful and slow in untan lin the discursive components in the way that antisemitism is claimed and deployed by a political movement.”

We support these community members’ conceptual separation between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, and we understand that the Jewish community, like the MAP community, is not a monolith. We also think that the identification of “ ood Jews” is an antisemitic trope, and we believe our recommendations on speech, safety, and academic pro rammin will serve Jewish members of the Stanford community as much as they serve anyone else.

CAPS

Over the last year, many MAP students have relied primarily on the Muslim Mental Health Initiative (MMHI) services, noted above, for mental health support. However, some MAP and non-MAP students affected by the crisis and campus climate, and disillusioned with the university and their departments, have also opted for therapy sessions throu h CAPS.

CAPS staff told us that students questioned the very utility of therapy at this time. Students are askin , "What even is therapy except a bandaid for an hour while the university and its structure/systems asli ht me and i nore reality?"

A faculty member made a similar comment about their mental health needs: "The root cause was also systemic and structural racism and discrimination. My therapist has offered to provide me with a recommendation for medical leave after years of tellin me that Stanford is the problem, not me … This is a place that doesn't believe or respect people like me."

Accordin to CAPS staff, this lack of institutional trust has extended to CAPS, and many students have also been hesitant to avail these services, which has adversely impacted mental health. "This isn't an identity issue, it's a humanitarian issue, and we haven't even otten to processin the trauma and rief." Some CAPS staff have built trust by attendin the MMHI support roups and, more recently, holdin their own.

ResX

In the dorms, MAP students report that when in distress, their Residential Assistants (RAs) are the first point of contact. In some instances, students have found their RAs to be responsive and helpful in directin them to appropriate resources. In other instances, students report bein fearful of communicatin with their RAs due to the eneral silence on Palestine and/or specific real or perceived political misali nment. And when MAP community members are themselves RAs, they have found themselves cau ht between bein enuine and their fear of bein punished, with one notin that she tried to keep her activism separate from her role in the dorm and said, "I felt very othered in a position where I was supposed to help people not feel othered and it's hard to do that. I felt it was unclear what could et me fired. As I look back I realize what len ths I went to to dehumanize parts of my identity because I didn't want to et fired."

In eneral, students report silence on Palestine amon students, RAs, and Resident Fellows (RFs): "There is a level of disconnection between RFs and what campus climate is actually like." They also report bein asked to remove expressions of pro-Palestinian support from their doors, or worse, bein discriminated a ainst because of those displays.

The committee contends that dorms are shared residences where all students should feel welcomed and safe. As we note in the Freedom of Speech chapter, any policies on the circumstances in which students can han fla s, banners, or flyers on their doors, other individual spaces, or in common/shared areas should be enforced neutrally and not only with respect to expressions of pro-Palestinian support. From our conversations with ResX staff, we feel the problem is twofold: 1) students, includin RAs, are unclear about policies in the residences around speech and expression, often because they are complicated; and 2) the policies that do exist are applied inconsistently.

ResX staff affirmed that con ressional scrutiny, shiftin national policies, and public attention are promptin a reassessment of residential policies. While reassessment is welcome, we believe that any chan es to these policies should take into consideration the experiences and rievances of MAP students, and that implementation of any new residential education pro rams—such as the ePluribus Project—should proceed only after a serious interro ation of the framin of these initiatives.

"For the main part, coping has not come from the dorm community ut from outside communities that support Palestine. Sometimes I'd fantasize that my dorm had Ara students in it so that I could have something to talk a out; so that I could say 'Hey guys stuff is happening and we need to support such and such person. We need to keep this person in mind.' I remem er hearing a out a resident in another dorm who had a unch of Palestine stuff up in their room getting their door lock glued [and] jammed so they couldn't get in. I would prefer to e in a dorm with people who are politically engaged even if I don't agree than with people who are completely silent and pretending as if things aren't happening. At least I wouldn't feel crazy." MAP Undergraduate

Career Services

Students told the committee that they fear that employers will not hire them because they have advocated for Palestinian ri hts throu h campus activities or on social media—or even because of their mere identity as members of Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian communities. These fears pre-date October 2023. As mentioned in the Doxxin section, several years a o Stanford raduate Emily Wilder, who had been a member of Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) while at Stanford, was fired from her job as a reporter with the Associated Press after the Stanford Colle e Republicans launched an online campai n a ainst her for her pro-Palestine tweets.

This year, students at Stanford Law School report bein warned by law firm partners not to issue statements on the conflict between Palestine and Israel because it would threaten their careers. A Palestinian student on campus reported hidin any reference to her identity in her application materials, for fear of discrimination.

PhD students told us they were advised y faculty not to work on Palestine, ecause of challenges they would face landing academic positions with that profile. A faculty mem er told us, "Two students who attended my Ottoman Palestine colloquium expressed that their peers were taken a ack y their choice of class. They mentioned concerns a out potential repercussions on their transcripts, particularly regarding the inclusion of ''Palestine' in the course title and its perceived impact on their jo prospects. One of them even remarked, 'How will you secure a jo in Silicon Valley with that on your record?'"

These fears are not unjustified. Numerous reports of employment sanctions a ainst students and employees based on their pro-Palestine speech have already surfaced around the country. In one recent example, a New York hed e fund reportedly told a Palestinian student at the University of Chica o that he would not receive a job offer because of "symbols" he displayed on social media, which he suspected was a Palestinian fla he included in his Insta ram profile. Law firms have recently undertaken unprecedented steps to vet students for their campus activism. For instance, the law firm Sullivan & Cromwell announced that it will conduct back round checks on applicants, includin askin them to list all student or anizations they participated in, reviewin these campus activities, and investi atin the students' social media posts. Given how often criticism of Israel is conflated with antisemitism, these efforts purportedly aimed at hate speech can easily become inquisitions into students' human ri hts activism and peaceful advocacy—and even cross the line into outri ht discrimination when students' actual or perceived identities tri er hei htened scrutiny.

In our interim report, the committee made two relevant recommendations on this issue:

- Or anize a convenin of all campus career services offices to address these concerns around discrimination
- Send a reminder to employers participatin in campus pro rams about their non-discrimination obli ations under federal and state law, includin certain state le al protections for employees' political speech

In sprin 2024, the MAP committee met with Stanford career services offices, which expressed a willin ness to address these concerns. As we shared with them, althou h there is no blanket federal protection for employee political speech, under anti-discrimination law, employers cannot respond to speech or protests differently based on the race, national ori in, or reli ion of the speaker, or in a way that reflects an invidious stereotype. Moreover, state law in California, amon other states, offers additional protection for the political speech of employees, and prohibits employers from makin or enforcin rules "controllin or directin …the political activities or affiliations of employees" and/or coercin their employees with respect to their political activities usin threats of dischar e.

Bechtel International Center

In 2017, after the Muslim Ban, Bechtel worked closely with the Office of General Counsel (OGC) and the Stanford Law School Immi rants' Ri hts Clinic (IRC) to create a plan for affected students. Much of this work continues to be appreciated by MAP and MAP-adjacent communities who remember Stanford units mobilizin in support of Muslim students impacted by the ban. There is, however, both a pressin need to plan now for new travel bans or other immi ration measures that may especially affect international students, and room for improvement on structural support via Bechtel for Palestinian students.

Muslim Bans

In 2024, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has pled ed, if reelected, to renew and expand travel bans tar etin majority-Muslim countries, to revoke the visas of "radical anti-American and antisemitic forei ners at our colle es and universities," to ban refu ees from Gaza, and to implement ideolo ical screenin measures related to views on Israel and Hamas. He also seeks to end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) pro ram that benefits undocumented students, to create mass detention camps, to severely restrict asylum, and to "carry out the lar est domestic deportation operation in American history." In the face of these potentially sweepin immi ration chan es, Stanford should be preparin now to protect students and uphold its core university values should these policy chan es come to pass.

Reviewin Stanford's response to immi ration measures durin the Trump administration is instructive, includin to appreciate the successes. Durin that time, a slew of speedily enacted immi ration restrictions seriously affected university students nationwide. Just after takin office, President Trump issued an executive order bannin entry from seven predominantly Muslim countries, followin a campai n promise to enact a "total and complete shutdown of Muslims enterin the United States." The travel ban immediately affected Stanford students: a Sudanese raduate student returnin to the United States was handcuffed and detained at JFK Airport; Iranian students cau ht abroad feared they would not be able to return to complete their studies; a Yemeni student faced the prospect of separation from her husband in Yemen, now barred from enterin the United States to join her.

Thou h Bechtel had be un preparin for possible travel bans before Trump was inau urated, the center was not prepared for the sheer influx of requests for support from students, faculty, and staff that poured in after the first travel ban went into effect. International students were concerned about their ability to stay at Stanford or to return home durin breaks, and their families' ability to see them raduate. Department heads were concerned that admitted students would be unable to matriculate.

Student Affairs staff were concerned for their directly affected students. All were reachin out to Bechtel to understand how to proceed.

In response to these new demands for information and le al support, the Stanford Law School Immi rants' Ri hts Clinic (IRC) provided direct support and often advised administrators on the ramifications of new immi ration policies for Stanford community members. IRC attorneys also worked to ensure that students who were travelin to Stanford from outside the country had the necessary information and support to navi ate entry. Stanford staff created an attorney referral system and IRC faculty helped to identify immi ration attorneys who could provide their services to students pro bono or for a limited fee provided by the Provost's office. Faculty and staff worked to address the problem of students bein contacted by the FBI for investi ative interviews. Bechtel staff members would advise students not to speak with the FBI without an attorney, and staff members would ive the tar eted student Know Your Ri hts material developed by local le al nonprofits. Experiencin some of this support, some faculty, staff, and students expressed that they "felt the university had their back as Muslims."

Palestinian Students at Bechtel

Post October 2023, Palestinian students have stru led, especially those comin from Gaza and/or with families in the re ion. International students told us Stanford can provide more support to incomin international MAP students, especially those from war-torn countries. These students often experience an extreme level of isolation; we heard that they receive little support from Bechtel and often are forced to o throu h bureaucratic processes that make their experience even more difficult.

Some students also pointed out that they were taken aback and frustrated when they received support emails misidentifyin them (e. ., receivin an email about resources for Israeli students when the student actually identifies as Palestinian) simply because of how their passport is classified in the system. We also heard that students want better systems in place for many of the frustratin tasks that Palestinians and students from conflict zones need to navi ate certain needs such as travelin home.

"They offer us a ticket to go home and make us ook it four weeks in advance— ut I don't know if I will have a permit [from the authorities controlling my home area] y then. I have to call, argain, interface with the Financial Aid Office, etc." MAP undergraduate

“Can there e an orientation for international students, [helping them] understand the concept that student government represents students: these are your channels to the administration. I wasn’t aware of any of that, and understanding the governance structure of the university is important. Students, when they arrive on campus, especially for international students in orientation, could have a session on that.” *MAP Graduate Alum*

“If Stanford has accepted me as a student with a certain identity they have a certain responsibility to understand and ive me resources when I need them. As an International student on an F1 visa, Bechtel would ideally be the first resource to me, but they haven’t been. They don’t have the resources. Please—Stanford, when you accept International students, you and especially Bechtel, where I spent my first two weeks doin all the orientations, you have a very bi responsibility in educatin yourself on who the student population is, what their needs are—and I’m sure this applies to students from other minority countries. If they don’t, there is no shame in not knowin , but maybe invite these students to educate you, and share with you.” ***MAP Graduate tudent***

“For eing a center that’s supposed to serve international students, they don’t seem particularly nuanced [sometimes]. Some of us have a passport from one place, [ut are] orn in another place. It’s complicated when you’ve een through wars. We can’t just change things to fit your categories. They need to e in conversations with people who understand the intricacies of these things. What’s your protocol? Who is your informant for this part of the world when things get dire? It’s ok not to know everything ut they should have regional specialists or something.” *MAP Graduate tudent*

"They are way behind as an academic institution when it comes to their IDEAL initiatives. Personally it feels like they created a department that does nothin and was set up to do nothin . [...] Why aren't mana ers checkin in and not makin a more positive work environment where you feel reco nized as a person and included at the same time?" ***MAP Staff***

"I never told anyone I was Palestinian." ***MAP Alum***

"When I ot here, I felt like everyone here really understood what it meant to be Muslim. Now I am really struck by how much people don't know and don't care." ***MAP Student***

"Hirin practices have led to the absence of Arab and Arabic-speakin tenured and tenure-track faculty members in these areas of research, more pronounced when compared with Persian, Hebrew, and Turkish-speakin faculty in the field, and even more so when considerin Arabic-speakin populations in the Middle East as compared to other lan ua es. This leads people to think that Stanford does not reco nize Arabs as a cate ory worthy of humanistic inquiry as it does with adjacent ethnicities such as Jewish and parallel cate ories such as Chican@ and Latin@ studies." ***Faculty***

Data Collection

- Maximize opportunities to self-report race, ethnicity, ancestry, nationality, lin uistic identities for accuracy and also to measure pro ress toward reater diversity.
- Offer a lar e number of race, ethnicity subcate ories while additionally providin a write-in response area, as the 2024 Revised OMB SPD15 envisions for federal reportin .
- Conduct a new IDEAL survey that more appropriately takes into account the demo raphics and aps around MAP communities. Inte rate the MENA cate ory into data collection.

Faculty

- Invest in tenured and tenure-track faculty who will enjoy the protections afforded by the hierarchical structure of North American academia. Specific recommendations around faculty are detailed in the Scholarship and Knowled e Production chapter. Existin avenues for implementin the above could be the IDEAL Faculty Incentive Fund or IDEAL Provostial Fellows Pro ram.
- Empower existin Academic Staff-Teachin who have expertise and experience in Palestine and the Arab world with research support, sabbaticals, and network support to ensure they are able to contribute to campus discourse.
- Recruit and retain faculty who represent a diversity of racial, ethnic, reli ious, and other identities. Promote the creation of diverse applicant pools in hirin for new positions and remove traditional barriers to the hirin of diverse faculty, such as subjective hirin criteria that privile e applicants who come from particular social networks.

Staff

- Explore possible initiatives under IDEAL to recruit staff with diverse back rounds and expertise.
- Levera e expertise of staff from MAP communities, especially in times of crisis, to aid in micro and macro decision-makin .
- Expedite the creation of a MAP/MAP-adjacent staff affinity roup.

Students

- Work with underrepresented minority student roups to develop methods both of expandin and improvin options to self-report race and ethnicity, as well as best practices for communicatin the reasons for such questions and maximizin student privacy. Increasin ly, and likely for a variety of different reasons, people report "decline to state" in response to questions about race, ethnicity, nationality and reli ion.

- Offer five scholarships to Palestinian under raduates livin in the West Bank, Gaza, Lebanon, and Syria, as well as Palestinian citizens of Israel. Invitin these students and facilitatin their access to world-class education at Stanford would inevitably enhance representation as well as academic discourse and en a ement around Palestine and the Middle East.

- Work with the Office of Under raduate Admissions to conduct outreach to MAP students (locally and lobally) and help reviewers better understand MAP communities as they review applications and answer students' questions before they commit.

- Work with the Markaz, MAP staff, and alumni to offer workshops for both under raduates and raduate students who want to learn how they can enact chan e at the university and have a seat at the table (how to join committees, how student overnment works, how to en a e alumni, etc.). This will encoura e their critical participation in the systems they want to chan e, and also provide much-needed professionalization resources by helpin prepare them for future leadership in whatever field they pursue.

Board of Trustees

- Appoint an ad hoc or special committee to make recommendations to the Board of Trustees on both its diversity of expertise and experience and its racial and ethnic diversity. We are not aware of any of the 31 members of the Board who identify as Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian.

Existing Stanford Structures

The Markaz Resource Center

- Within the next fiscal year (2024-25), approve permanent fundin for the Assistant Director and Pro ram Coordinator positions (full-time, exempt), so that neither of those positions has to sunset and the center can continue to function at a sustainable work load and reasonable capacity.
- Within the next academic year (2024-25), officially allocate Nitery 206, 209, 210 to the Markaz and provide financial and lo istical support to develop this space for optimal use into a welcomin and culturally relevant community space.
- Within the followin academic year (2025-26), officially allocate the rest of the Nitery 2nd floor to the Markaz (some of which was previously assi ned to Markaz staff and students and then subsequently allocated to other VPSA units) to be used for:
    - Private MMHI 1:1 therapy or consultation appointments
    - Office space for Markaz professional staff and student staff
    - Bookable study spaces
    - Community hubs for advocacy and or anizin

Muslim Life Recommendations

- Make available adequate space that is re ularly accessible for Muslim reli ious services, such as jummah (Friday) prayer, Ramadan iftars, and Eid celebrations. Provide facilities in these venues for wudu (required washin before prayer).
- Provide fundin for additional staffin , includin a Muslim chaplain whose role it is specifically to offer reli ious and spiritual care for students, especially for raduate and professional school students.
- Standardize reli ious accommodations across Stanford:
    - Make halal food options available at cafes in all professional and raduate schools, such as the medical school, the hospital, the law school.
    - Mandate that all units offer two days off a year for major reli ious holidays without the need for ne otiation or mana ement

- Accommodate Friday prayer times (1:30-2:00 p.m.) for first year medical school students by avoidin schedulin mandatory classes or meetin s on Fridays durin that time.

The Advisory Council

In 2024-25, convert the MAP Committee into a permanent Advisory Council, similar to the Black Community Council or the Jewish Advisory Committee, to address matters relevant to both MAP community members and to scholars and community members workin on and interested in these issues and areas of scholarly inquiry. The Advisory Council will:

Structurally:

- Report directly to the President, Provost, and the Vice Provost for Institutional Equity, Access and Community.
- Meet monthly and as required without producin formal reports, and issue updates and statements as required.
- Expand its membership of faculty, staff, students, and alumni.

Functionally:

- Enable and support the university as it implements recommendations made by the MAP Committee in this May 2024 report.
- Continue the work of the MAP Committee in dialo with other committees and communities.
- Serve as an entity that can offer or direct to expertise in emer encies.
- Form subcommittees or task forces as needed to address issues directly impactin MAP and MAP-adjacent communities, such as the Muslim Ban, etc.

Structural Support Within Other Units

Mental Health Recommendations

- **MMHI**
    - Provide $50,000 per year in permanent fundin for the MMHI for sustainable and consistent plannin for 1:1 therapy sessions and support roups.
    - Expand the purview of these services to include faculty, staff, and post docs.
- **SMMHIP**
    - Levera e existin expertise in the Department of Psychiatry and the School of Medicine, such as the SMMHIP lab and Dr. Rania Awaad, to plan for robust services for these communities.
    - Allocate a minimum of $5,000 annually for lab research specific to MMHI, particularly for assessment and evaluation of the pro ram, for better lon -term plannin .
- **CAPS**
    - Relaunch the search for a staff psycholo ist at CAPS who has had experience offerin care to MAP communities.
    - Create increased FTE positions for clinicians who can provide culturally relevant and trauma-informed care.
    - Create specific positions offerin such care at raduate and professional schools such as the GSB, SLS, GSE, etc.
    - Provide mental health services and support for anti-Zionist Jewish students, who have repeatedly indicated feelin ne lected and unsupported on campus.
    - Offer compensation for staff or faculty who run mental health support roups for staff, and fundin for those roups.
    - Expedite throu h VPUE and OAE the process of academic accommodations for students in crisis.

- **ResX**

  Institutionalize trainin on anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab bias and Islamophobia, as well as mental health trainin related to these communities. These trainin sessions should be conducted by experts or in consultation with experts, for all ResX staff - Residence Deans (RDs), Resident Fellows (RFs), Resident Assistants (RAs), and Nei hborhood Pro ram Directors (NPDs).

  Clarify policies around student ri hts to political expression: detailin specifically the han in of banners, flyers, etc. in rooms, doors, shared spaces, etc. and ensure all residential staff (RFs and RAs alon with professional staff) have adequate trainin around those policies and their application.

  Ensure the consistent application of those policies across political issues and not just with respect to pro-Palestine support.

  Reevaluate the institutionalization of educational initiatives such as the ePluribus Project, in consultation with MAP.

- **Career Services**

  - Remind all employers who recruit on campus of Stanford's anti-discrimination policy and make clear that Stanford will take seriously any alle ations of discrimination or harassment.

  - Educate career services staff about the overnin law, so they can better protect students a ainst possible discrimination.

  - Counsel students about their le al ri hts and navi atin these concerns in this political context.

  - Request that students promptly report all incidents of suspected discrimination and harassment to career services and commit to respondin to those reports with appropriate ravity.

  - Direct all career services offices to take these steps and convene additional meetin s with these units in fall 2024 to protect students from employment harassment and discrimination.

- **Bechtel International Center**

  - Provide more support to incomin students, especially those comin from war-torn countries. Student orientation and support systems, specifically for these students, should be revisited and si nificantly redesi ned. This will require investment in Bechtel and increased trainin and resources for its staff.

  - Decide on an immi ration representation system for students ahead of time that provides fundin from Stanford for hi h-quality outside representation from a firm that has both the expertise and community trust on sensitive immi ration matters and that can handle both intakes and actual representation. IRC faculty identified Van Der Hout LLP as one such firm.

  - Establish or update protocols for respondin to the presence of federal law enforcement a encies on campus or for respondin to federal outreach to students, includin uidance on how university staff should respond.

  - Identify someone outside the IRC with the relevant expertise and community trust who can assist the university in understandin and interpretin immi ration policy chan es and advisin on how to support and advocate for students.

  - Make clear to Stanford community members that efforts to exile members of the Stanford community based on their nationality, reli ion, immi ration status, and other such rounds violate the university's core values and that Stanford will defend community members a ainst such measures.

  - Support advocacy and liti ation efforts bein undertaken by national immi ration advocacy or anizations to resist discriminatory and draconian immi ration measures and expand sanctuary zones to university campuses.

"The cost of mental health, even when it is copay on insurance, adds up. My therapist has offered to provide me with a recommendation for medical leave after years of tellin me that Stanford is the problem, not me. I did not accept that option because I knew that Stanford and everyone I worked with would treat me as an abuser of the system. This is a place that doesn't believe or respect people like me. I'd rather work elsewhere." ***MAP Faculty***

"The administration lacks understandin about the mental toll that students are under. Durin our second meetin with the provost, the roup was more composed. She said somethin like, "Thank you for bein so composed. Last time it was a little too much." You only ave us one opportunity–and you expected us to be composed when we were in the middle of all of it." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"This fall is the most stressed I've ever been in my life. I felt like there was bubblin in the middle of my head." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"I think on some level that Stanford expects [student] staff to be supportive robots who don't stru le with their own stuff and are just supportin students throu h their stuff. There's no acknowled ment that what's happenin could impact my ability to do my job. There's a kind of silent dama e that happens when there is a crisis on campus and staff teams don't talk about it." ***MAP Undergraduate***

"I'm so tired of ettin emails in which the university and various offices speak about student protesters as if they are outsiders, 'threats' or at worst, terrorists. 'See somethin , say somethin ,' is a dan erous and dama in framin for thinkin about Stanford's own students."***MAP Staff***

"I can't shake the idea that the university's silence at the start resulted in acts of violence towards Muslim and Arab students. And that those are two very different roups, there are overlaps but they are different roups. Had it not been for that hit and run and the rapid mobilization of alums and students on campus, I just wonder if these thin s would have been tolerated. And that hurts." ***MAP Alum***

"I [constantly] felt like I was spoken for instead of asked to speak." ***MAP Graduate Student***

"This email is so painfully typical of Stanford. 'There's a problem. Here's a solution we've decided on without any input from those affected that conveniently ali ns with our a enda.'" ***MAP Alum***

COMMUNICATIONS

The lan ua e that a university chooses to use in its communications not only conveys its public face to the world but also shapes the relationship that each member of its community has with the place they call home, the place they work, the place they o to live and learn daily. Whether on a website, in a news article, or within an internal memo, these words are often experienced as a reflection of the university's values and character, of what it believes and what it espouses.

As we have noted many times throu hout this report, and as this pivotal moment in history has made us each so aware, **words matter.** At a time when university leaders are bein questioned before Con ress over a turn of phrase or when editors at major newspapers are circulatin memos instructin their journalists to restrict the use of certain terms, lan ua e is bein treated not merely as representative of harm but as a harm itself.

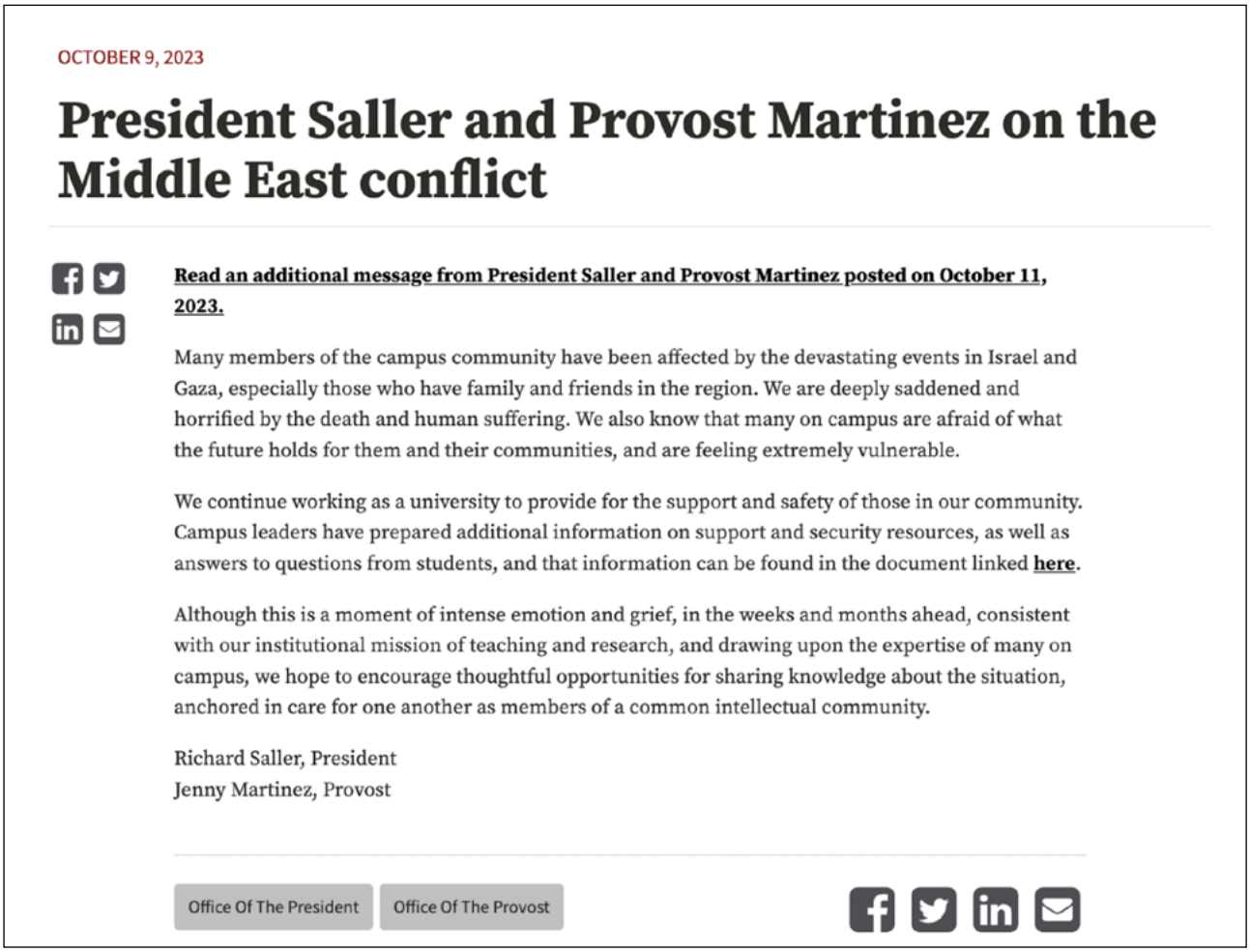
And indeed, the lan ua e Stanford has or has not used—particularly in university-wide announcements—has consistently emer ed as a deeply-felt pain point. In listenin session after listenin session, the committee heard that the way that Stanford has communicated has made members of MAP communities feel that nobody is "in the room" to represent them when the university makes decisions that directly affect them. The communications make them feel invisible, underrepresented, and disempowered—which contributes to their fear and their loss of trust in the university.

This kind of communication ives fertile round for external media covera e such as "The War Comes to Stanford," published in the *New York Times*, and "The War at Stanford," published in *The Atlantic*, to conjure up a presidin narrative of the university and its students that is in fact asymmetrical and distorted.

What follows is a brief discussion of the inconsistencies, asymmetry, and inaccuracies within and across this administration's statements and actions durin the 2023-24 academic year.

INITIAL STATEMENTS: NEUTRALITY WITH CONDEMNATION

On October 9, 2023, the new interim President Richard Saller and Provost Jenny Martinez issued a succinct messa e in response to the events of October 7. While many members of the MAP community found this lackin and va ue at the time, it was evident that the new administration was still workin out their communication stance and tryin to avoid takin sides.



OCTOBER 9, 2023

President Saller and Provost Martinez on the Middle East conflict

Read an additional message from President Saller and Provost Martinez posted on October 11, 2023.

Many members of the campus community have been affected by the devastating events in Israel and Gaza, especially those who have family and friends in the region. We are deeply saddened and horrified by the death and human suffering. We also know that many on campus are afraid of what the future holds for them and their communities, and are feeling extremely vulnerable.

We continue working as a university to provide for the support and safety of those in our community. Campus leaders have prepared additional information on support and security resources, as well as answers to questions from students, and that information can be found in the document linked **here**.

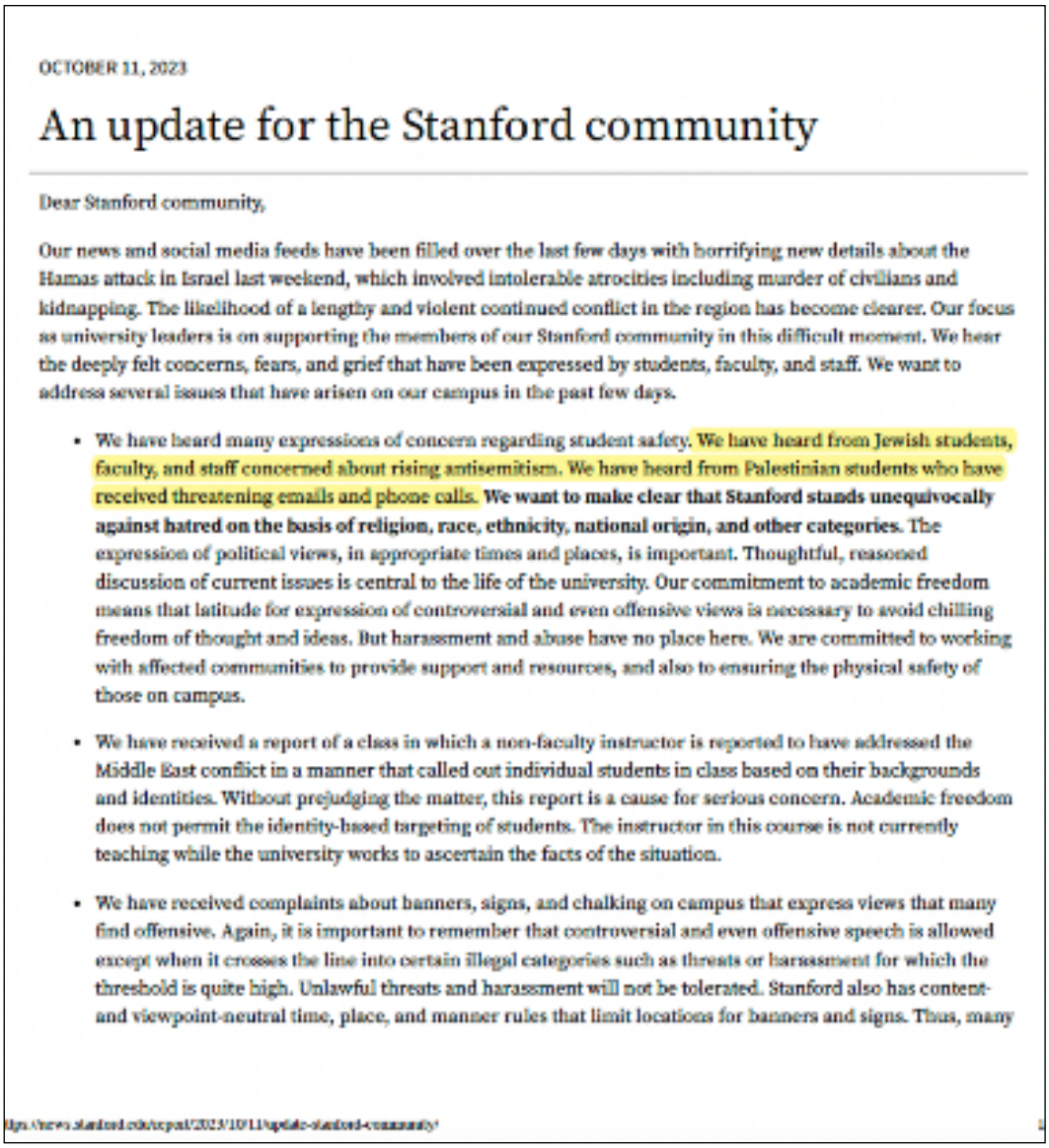
Although this is a moment of intense emotion and grief, in the weeks and months ahead, consistent with our institutional mission of teaching and research, and drawing upon the expertise of many on campus, we hope to encourage thoughtful opportunities for sharing knowledge about the situation, anchored in care for one another as members of a common intellectual community.

Richard Saller, President
Jenny Martinez, Provost

Office Of The President | Office Of The Provost

On October 11, 2023, the President and Provost issued a lon er, more comprehensive messa e. The letter be an by describin Hamas' attack as "horrifyin " and as "intolerable atrocities," before movin to campus safety and an explanation of their stance of neutrality, rooted in the Kalven report, that would come to characterize their administration. "We believe it is important that the university, as an institution, enerally refrain from takin institutional positions on complex political or eopolitical matters that extend beyond our immediate purview, which is the operations of the university itself," they stated.

We want to be clear that we do not hold the president and provost to standards set by the university's previous administration, which was known for sendin a considerable number of statements in reaction to current events. With appropriate exceptions for events that directly affect the university or its mission, **a stance of institutional neutrality is justifia le—if applied consistently.**



OCTOBER 11, 2023

An update for the Stanford community

Dear Stanford community,

Our news and social media feeds have been filled over the last few days with horrifying new details about the Hamas attack in Israel last weekend, which involved intolerable atrocities including murder of civilians and kidnapping. The likelihood of a lengthy and violent continued conflict in the region has become clearer. Our focus as university leaders is on supporting the members of our Stanford community in this difficult moment. We hear the deeply felt concerns, fears, and grief that have been expressed by students, faculty, and staff. We want to address several issues that have arisen on our campus in the past few days.

- We have heard many expressions of concern regarding student safety. We have heard from Jewish students, faculty, and staff concerned about rising antisemitism. We have heard from Palestinian students who have received threatening emails and phone calls. **We want to make clear that Stanford stands unequivocally against hatred on the basis of religion, race, ethnicity, national origin, and other categories.** The expression of political views, in appropriate times and places, is important. Thoughtful, reasoned discussion of current issues is central to the life of the university. Our commitment to academic freedom means that latitude for expression of controversial and even offensive views is necessary to avoid chilling freedom of thought and ideas. But harassment and abuse have no place here. We are committed to working with affected communities to provide support and resources, and also to ensuring the physical safety of those on campus.

- We have received a report of a class in which a non-faculty instructor is reported to have addressed the Middle East conflict in a manner that called out individual students in class based on their backgrounds and identities. Without prejudging the matter, this report is a cause for serious concern. Academic freedom does not permit the identity-based targeting of students. The instructor in this course is not currently teaching while the university works to ascertain the facts of the situation.

- We have received complaints about banners, signs, and chalking on campus that express views that many find offensive. Again, it is important to remember that controversial and even offensive speech is allowed except when it crosses the line into certain illegal categories such as threats or harassment for which the threshold is quite high. Unlawful threats and harassment will not be tolerated. Stanford also has content- and viewpoint-neutral time, place, and manner rules that limit locations for banners and signs. Thus, many

of the banners and signs have been removed, because they were in places where they are not allowed. **Moreover, it is worth remembering that while a climate of free expression requires breathing room, our aspiration as a community is for respectful and substantive discourse.**

Here and across the nation this week, there also has been discussion of the role of university leaders in commenting on global events. This provides an opportunity for the two of us, who are new in our current roles at Stanford, to share some further thoughts on this topic, and on the place and purpose of universities.

Stanford University is a community of scholars. We believe it is important that the university, as an institution, generally refrain from taking institutional positions on complex political or global matters that extend beyond our immediate purview, which is the operations of the university itself. Maintaining university neutrality allows for our individual scholars to explore them freely. In recent years, many universities have gotten into the habit of issuing frequent statements about news events. This creates a number of difficulties. The decision to take a position about one event or issue yields implications for silence with regard to other issues; given that different subsets of a campus community may be more or less affected by particular issues, this inconsistency is felt acutely. It can enmesh universities in politics and create a sense of institutional orthodoxy that chills academic freedom. In addition, crafting each message is challenging, from gathering facts and context on complex issues at the speed of online media and the news cycle while also walking a line between platitudes and overly political positions.

As a moral matter, we condemn all terrorism and mass atrocities. This includes the deliberate attack on civilians this weekend by Hamas. One of the advances in international law in the 20th century following the horrors of the Holocaust was the development of international humanitarian law prohibiting war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. Such crimes are never justified. Sadly, they occur regularly throughout the world; the International Criminal Court website lists seventeen different country situations for which it has launched investigations, all of which involve mass atrocities. And that court's docket does not even reflect the full range of situations. We point this out not to in any way diminish the shocking severity of the events in Israel and Gaza this week, but to highlight the pervasive problem that humankind faces in conquering hate.

The events in Israel and Gaza this week have affected and engaged large numbers of students on our campus in ways that many other events have not. This is why we feel compelled to both address the impact of these events on our campus and to explain why our general policy of not issuing statements about news events not directly connected to campus has limited the breadth of our comments thus far, and why you should not expect frequent commentary from us in the future.

The fighting in the Middle East is likely to continue in the coming weeks, with casualties on both sides, and the overall situation has a deep and complex history. Stanford has community members who are themselves from the region or who have friends and family there. We recognize the deeply felt impacts across our community. We encourage you to approach one another with a spirit of compassion and respect for our shared humanity.

Sincerely,

Richard Saller, President
Jenny Martinez, Provost

The letter went on to state that, "As a moral matter, we condemn all terrorism and mass atrocities. This includes the deliberate attack on civilians this weekend by Hamas." This was followed by a short discussion on international humanitarian law prohibitin war crimes.

By the time this statement was issued to the Stanford community, Israel had already formally declared a state of war in Gaza. Defense Minister Yoav Gallant had announced a "total" blockade of the Gaza Strip that would cut electricity and block the entry of food and fuel, statin , "We are fi htin human animals and are actin accordin ly." Hundreds of Palestinians in Gaza were bein killed by airstrikes and Palestinians were bein killed in various areas around the West Bank. The main buildin s of the first hi her education institution in the Gaza Strip, the Islamic University of Gaza, were destroyed by airstrikes, and the Rafah Border Crossin had been bombed.

This is not an exhaustive list by any measure, but includes examples of what could be considered "mass atrocities," and what could be considered a war crime under the Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (e. ., bombin a university). **When the President and the Provost chose to issue a condemnation *directly* after stating that they would refrain from taking positions, what they chose *not* to condemn rever erated across the MAP community, with students, faculty, and staff alike.**

"I saw how the university's communication had an effect on my friends. They sent two emails ack to ack that condemned things and ignored Palestinians and I saw how that made my friends feel," said one of the MAP students who helped create the sit-in. This student in fact cited these messa es as one of the main reasons for startin the sit-in.

"ISRAEL-HAMAS WAR"

The framin of the last ei ht months as the "Israel-Hamas War" has been problematic for many community members because it implies that the fi htin and the dyin takin place are between Israel on one side and Hamas on the other side. Many of them see this as an inaccurate representation of what is happenin on the round, which has manifested as a military campai n in opposition to every civilian of Gaza, not just Hamas. This framin erases the people who are actually bein harmed by the thousands—the Palestinians of Gaza. "The war in Gaza" would be a more appropriate label.

While some mainstream publications such as the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, NPR, CNN, and the *Guardian* have followed the Associated Press Style Guide's recommendation to use the phrase "Israel-Hamas War," Stanford has an obli ation as an institute of hi her knowled e to not simply accept the media status quo. Althou h leadership has listened to this feedback from the MAP Committee and has altered this lan ua e in some broader university communications contexts, usin phrases such as "the violence in Israel and Gaza" in its messa es to students, the "Israel-Hamas War" framin is still bein used across units at Stanford, and community members are takin note.

A CONSISTENT AFTERTHOUGHT AND CONFLATION

In the university-wide communications that Stanford has issued since October 7, the committee and MAP communities have observed that antisemitism almost always precedes mention of Islamophobia or anti-Palestinian sentiment as a matter of course. As one faculty member noted, "These are minor and small pennies compared to bi er issues, and yet very symbolic and emblematic of the lar er issues in terms of messa in . If it varies from email to email, reat—but it just never does."

This distinction is not trivial. When MAP communities already feel like an afterthou ht and that they hold relatively little power in the university and broader landscape, the consistent namin as second reinforces these feelin s.

The committee and communities have also noted, as referenced in other sections of this report, that in both written and spoken communication there is too often a conflation of Islamophobia and anti-Palestinian bias or a tendency to treat MAP communities as a monolith (such as assumin all members are Muslim). This tendency is reductive, ahistorical, incorrect, and harmful, and leads to both an oversimplification of the issues and layered identities at hand and an inaccurate sta in of the on oin conflict as a battle between Jews and Muslims.

NOVEMBER 13, 2023

New steps to support campus communities

Dear Stanford community,

The last several weeks have been challenging as our community has witnessed and responded to the Israel-Hamas war. For many, it has been a time of anguish, fear, worry, and anger.

The two of us, and others on Stanford's leadership team, have been listening carefully to the members of multiple communities at Stanford to understand their experiences and concerns. We have worked to extend support for immediate needs and to provide for the physical safety of our campus community.

Today we are announcing additional steps to respond to the needs of our communities and to support their well-being. Two new groups will be focusing intently on strengthening support in an ongoing manner for our Jewish community and for our Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities. **Please open the following page to read more about these initiatives (https://news.stanford.edu/report/2023/11/13/stanford-announces-next-steps-support-campus-communities/).**

In these difficult times, we hope you'll join us in supporting one another as members of one Stanford community; in rejecting antisemitism, Islamophobia and anti-Muslim bias, anti-Palestinian bias, anti-Israeli bias, and all forms of hatred and discrimination on the basis of religion, race, ethnicity, or national origin; and in fostering the atmosphere of civil, reasoned, deeply informed discussion that advances our mission of learning.

DECEMBER 15, 2023

Update on new committees to support campus communities

Members have been appointed and work is progressing on two Stanford committees created to help combat antisemitism and anti-Palestinian and anti-Muslim bias.

Members have been appointed and work is progressing on two new Stanford committees **established to develop recommendations (https://news.stanford.edu/report/2023/11/13/stanford-announces-next-steps-support-campus-communities/)** for combating antisemitism and anti-Palestinian and anti-Muslim bias on campus, and to support communities on campus that have been deeply affected by the Israel-Hamas war.

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Resources for campus events, safety, and well-being

October 30, 2023

In a time of heightened anxiety and concern in light of the events in Israel and Gaza, President Saller and Provost Martinez have emphasized their commitment to providing for the safety and well-being of the campus community – and have encouraged thoughtful, reasoned discussion across differing viewpoints "with a spirit of compassion and respect for our shared humanity." Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of hatred on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, and national origin are contrary to Stanford's values.

This page provides information and resources for students, as well as for other members of the Stanford community. Also read the October 11 message to the community from President Saller and Provost Martinez, a further message on community safety and well-being, and Provost Martinez's remarks to the Faculty Senate, and an announcement about new efforts to support Stanford's campus communities.

If you are not feeling safe, you are encouraged to reach out for help

- For **emergency assistance**, call 911 or 9-911 from a campus phone
- Report a **non-emergency** crime or potential hazard to law enforcement at (650) 329-2413
- To request a threat assessment for a concerning **situation that does not present an imminent threat of harm**, contact the Threat Assessment Team at http://safety.stanford.edu
- To report an act of **Antisemitism** occuring outside academic engagement (academic engagement includes any pedagogical, research and/or educational activities), file a Protected Identity Harm report
- To report an act of **Islamophobia** occuring outside academic engagement (academic engagement includes any pedagogical, research and/or educational activities), file a Protected Identity Harm report

ANOTHER INCONSISTENT CONDEMNATION

On December 5, 2023, Harvard University president Claudine Gay, MIT president Sally Kornbluth, and University of Pennsylvania president Elizabeth Ma ill appeared before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, where they were asked to defend their responses to incidents of antisemitism on their campuses and were subsequently hammered for their responses.

On the ni ht of December 7, 2023, Stanford issued a Facebook post, Insta ram post, and Tweet on X that read, "In the context of the national discourse, Stanford unequivocally condemns calls for the enocide of Jews or any peoples. That statement would clearly violate Stanford's Fundamental Standard, the code of conduct for all students at the university."

On December 8, 2023, in a Stanford Alumni Association Town Hall with Richard Saller and members of Stanford's Muslim Alumni Association community, alumni raised their concerns with this statement. They noted that, not only did it conflict with the administration's stance on not issuin statements, but it failed to name Palestinians. This point was made by community members many times in the weeks to come: "How could they say 'Jews or any peoples' when it is Jews and Palestinians that are dyin ?" At this point in time, the mass killin and displacement of people was well underway in Gaza, and it was later that same month that South Africa would launch its case in the International Court of Justice accusin Israel of " enocidal acts" in Gaza.

The president responded in the town hall session by callin the statement a "prophylactic" to protect the kind of debate that he wanted to foster at Stanford, in the context of con ressional focus on elite universities. In the aforementioned *Atlantic* story "The War at Stanford," the author also expressed surprise about this social media post iven Stanford's no statement policy, and asked the president about it. The author notes: "'Liz Ma ill is a ood friend,' Saller told me, addin , 'Havin watched what happened at Harvard and Penn, it seemed prudent" to publicly state that Stanford rejected calls for enocide."

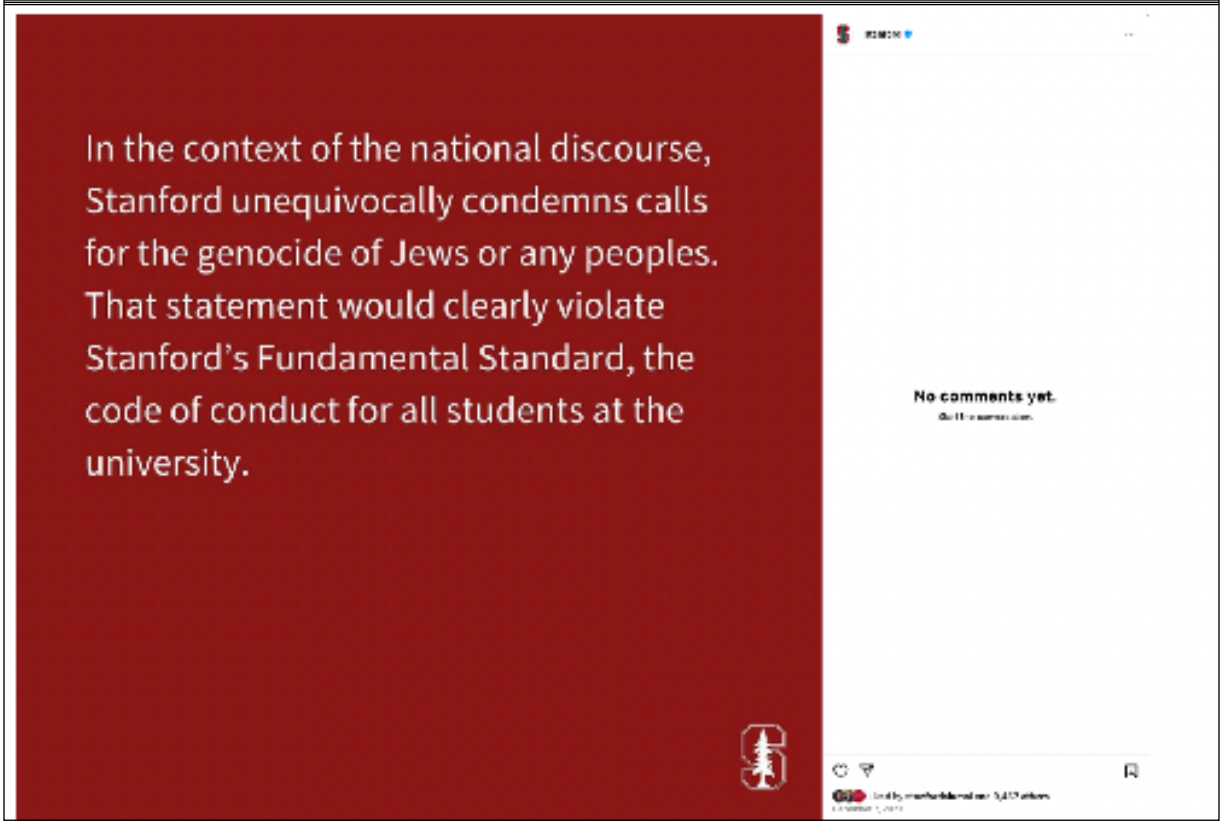
This was not the first nor the last time that the MAP communities observed what they felt was the university respondin to external pressures rather than to the internal needs of its own community. While members of MAP communities have stated in listenin sessions that they a ree wholeheartedly with the condemnation of enocide a ainst Jews, they also stated that they once a ain felt unnamed, unseen, unheard, and erased at a time when they were witnessin and experiencin mass atrocities committed a ainst Palestinians.

Stanford University
@Stanford

In the context of the national discourse, Stanford unequivocally condemns calls for the genocide of Jews or any peoples. That statement would clearly violate Stanford's Fundamental Standard, the code of conduct for all students at the university.

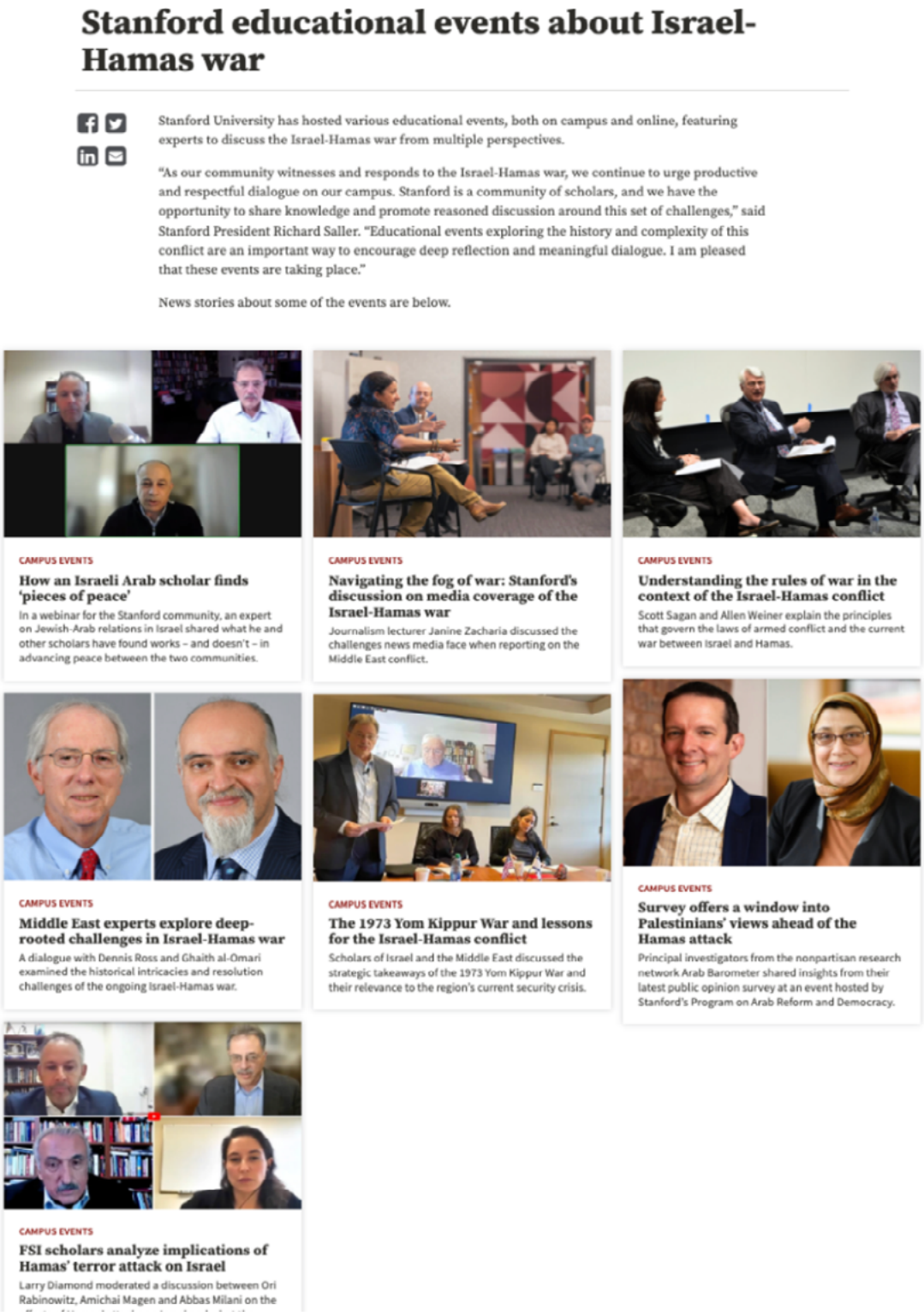
10:29 PM · Dec 7, 2023 · **4.4M** Views

2.2K 7K 360


In the context of the national discourse, Stanford unequivocally condemns calls for the genocide of Jews or any peoples. That statement would clearly violate Stanford's Fundamental Standard, the code of conduct for all students at the university.
No comments yet.

WHAT STORY DOES STANFORD TELL?

In December of 2023, the university posted a pa e that a re ated news stories about the "Israel-Hamas War" that had been written in or featured in the Stanford Report up until that point. At the top of the pa e, the president is quoted, "Educational events explorin the history and complexity of this conflict are an important way to encoura e deep reflection and meanin ful dialo ue. I am pleased that these events are takin place."



Stanford educational events about Israel-Hamas war

Stanford University has hosted various educational events, both on campus and online, featuring experts to discuss the Israel-Hamas war from multiple perspectives.

"As our community witnesses and responds to the Israel-Hamas war, we continue to urge productive and respectful dialogue on our campus. Stanford is a community of scholars, and we have the opportunity to share knowledge and promote reasoned discussion around this set of challenges," said Stanford President Richard Saller. "Educational events exploring the history and complexity of this conflict are an important way to encourage deep reflection and meaningful dialogue. I am pleased that these events are taking place."

News stories about some of the events are below.

CAMPUS EVENTS

How an Israeli Arab scholar finds 'pieces of peace'

In a webinar for the Stanford community, an expert on Jewish-Arab relations in Israel shared what he and other scholars have found works – and doesn't – in advancing peace between the two communities.

CAMPUS EVENTS

Navigating the fog of war: Stanford's discussion on media coverage of the Israel-Hamas war

Journalism lecturer Janine Zacharia discussed the challenges news media face when reporting on the Middle East conflict.

CAMPUS EVENTS

Understanding the rules of war in the context of the Israel-Hamas conflict

Scott Sagan and Allen Weiner explain the principles that govern the laws of armed conflict and the current war between Israel and Hamas.

CAMPUS EVENTS

Middle East experts explore deep-rooted challenges in Israel-Hamas war

A dialogue with Dennis Ross and Ghaith al-Omari examined the historical intricacies and resolution challenges of the ongoing Israel-Hamas war.

CAMPUS EVENTS

The 1973 Yom Kippur War and lessons for the Israel-Hamas conflict

Scholars of Israel and the Middle East discussed the strategic takeaways of the 1973 Yom Kippur War and their relevance to the region's current security crisis.

CAMPUS EVENTS

Survey offers a window into Palestinians' views ahead of the Hamas attack

Principal investigators from the nonpartisan research network Arab Barometer shared insights from their latest public opinion survey at an event hosted by Stanford's Program on Arab Reform and Democracy.

CAMPUS EVENTS

FSI scholars analyze implications of Hamas' terror attack on Israel

Larry Diamond moderated a discussion between Ori Rabinowitz, Amichai Magen and Abbas Milani on the

ANOTHER INCONSISTENT CONDEMNATION

The committee notes the asymmetry and lopsided covera e in the seven articles a re ated on this pa e:

Word	Number of times it appeared
Israel	100
Israeli	44
Palestine	8
Palestinian	44 (More than half of which were in an article about a public opinion survey of Palestinians)
Gaza	26
Hamas	76

While "the history and complexity of this conflict" are in fact bein explored in some areas of campus, the university has not decided to uplift those stories. Since a re atin the pa e mentioned above, countless events have been hosted by units and roups across Stanford such as the Abbasi Pro ram in Islamic Studies and Stanford Global Studies ran in from a talk on Palestinian Transnational Politics in the United States, to a book talk for a Stanford University Press work on lives and military participation in Palestine, to a presentation on Latin America and the War on Gaza.

In March, a packed room in Mar aret Jacks Hall listened to a readin by the Palestinian poet from Gaza, Yahya Ashour, and then at the Stanford Humanities Center, a readin by Palestinian American poet Fady Joudah. There has been no covera e of any of these events, and the only covera e of events featurin Palestinian speakers hi hli hted either thinkers or scholars of the re ion who are less representative of modal opinions in Palestinian culture and politics, or events that made an explicit political esture to include "both sides." **Therefore, when the general pu lic pursues the Stanford News site, someone might navigate to this curated page and o serve, "This is what Stanford thinks a out Palestine."**

In sprin 2024, the Stanford Report covered only two events related to the war in Gaza. The first was a conversation, as part of the *Democracy and Disagreement* course, between Former Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad and Israeli Professor Alon Tal, "which explored the complexities and potential of a two-state solution throu h a model of civil discourse." The second event was a conversation featurin peace activists from Israel and Palestine who "are committed to the view that a peaceful future for the Israeli and Palestinian people, two peoples livin side by side, in two states, is possible" and who are mostly part of OneVoice, an or anization which even a quick Goo le search would reveal is historically problematic in addressin Palestinian ri hts. We are in favor of all such events, but the selective reportin appears to reflect a desire to tilt the balance of covera e towards particular political positions that are hi hly contested within the discourses in question and that primarily feature problematic "kumbaya moments."

Israeli Envoy Event

On January 23, 2024, the president and provost participated in an event hosted by the Blue and White Tent entitled “Combatin Antisemitism at Stanford Symposium.” One of the speakers at the event served as a member of the Knesset for the Blue and White alliance from 2020 to 2021 and is currently a special envoy for combatin antisemitism for Israel.

This event elicited much confusion and consternation in the MAP community. Once a ain, these actions seemed at odds with the administration’s statement on university neutrality. The frustration was not in reaction to leadership choosin to speak about combatin antisemitism, which is commendable and without reproach, but because of a) their willin ness to speak at and be advertised with an event alon side a political actor of a overnment called before the International Court of Justice for punishment of the crime of enocide (South Africa v. Israel), and b) their willin ness to participate in a public event hosted by a student-led tent, alon side their unwillin ness to publicly visit the Sit-In to Stop Genocide and, in the early sta es, to meet with the students at all.

While the university leadership attested that they were not initially aware of the shape of the event when they a reed to participate in it, they nevertheless chose to participate even after bein made aware of the envoy’s presence a week in advance of the event. In addition to the event bein covered in a Stanford Report article, several photos of their participation in this event can be found in the Blue and White Tent’s photo allery. The committee wishes to make clear that the issue here is not that a student or anizer invited a political actor to speak on campus: we continue to stand by the “more speech, not less” position we have taken (see chapter on Freedom of Speech).

Nor does the committee object to the participation of the president and provost in a political event. The issue here is about university-level communications: the president and provost participatin in this event and allowin their ima es and names to be used in its advertisement and covera e were read by MAP communities and allies as a public endorsement of support for one community. This becomes an issue when there is no such embodied support for the MAP communities except in what one community member called “empty words.” However, the MAP committee and communities did appreciate that durin the event, as recounted in the Stanford Report, “When asked whether Stanford should adopt the definition of antisemitism as set forth by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), Saller said he believed orderin such an action was beyond the limits of his authority” and that it is not his role to “issue an official definition that’s bindin on the campus.”

When the MAP community raised concern about the event with the president and provost, they said they would speak at an analo ous event if it was planned, for example, by this committee. However, it is not the role of this committee to create the conditions for the president and provost to serve the communities they should be servin as leaders durin a frau ht time. The Combatin Antisemitism event consumed unit and university resources on a substantial scale simply not available to any unit that mi ht have hosted an analo ous event connected to the MAP community.

THE BLUE AND WHITE TENT PRESENTS
COMBATTING ANTISEMITISM AT STANFORD SYMPOSIUM
RICHARD SALLER
PRESIDENT OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
JENNY MARTINEZ
PROVOST OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
MICHAL COTLER-WUNSH
SPECIAL ISRAELI ENVOY FOR ANTISEMITISM
LARRY DIAMOND
SENIOR FELLOW AT STANFORD FSI
JAFI LIPSON
CLINICAL ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF RADIOLOGY
KEVIN FEIGELIS
PHD STUDENT BLUE & WHITE TENT
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24
4 PM
RECEPTION WITH HORS D'OEUVRES
Blue & White Tent, White Plaza
Special Guest: Michal Cotler-Wunsh
5 PM
COMBATTING ANTISEMITISM ON CAMPUS
Tressider Union, Oak Lounge
Speakers: Michal Cotler-Wunsh
6 PM
PANEL WITH THE PRESIDENT & PROVOST
Tressider Union, Oak Lounge
Speakers: President Saller, Provost Martinez, Michal Cotler-Wunsh, Jafi Lipson, Kevin Feigelis
A SPECIAL THANK YOU TO

“TO SHUT OUT THOSE WHO DISAGREE”

Since students be an the People’s University for Palestine encampment on April 25, Stanford has posted or emailed a series of “White Plaza Updates.” While the committee cannot en a e in a close readin of all of the university’s communications around the encampment— or of the subsequent internal emails from individual schools and units—one leadership messa e in particular is worth discussin , as it is indicative of systemic issues discussed throu hout this report.

In the “Update to students re ardin White Plaza, issued on May 17, 2024” the president and provost wrote:

“Last week, for example, in the Democracy and Disa reement course led by Deans Paul Brest and Debra Satz, Alon Tal (a visitin fellow in the Israeli Studies Pro ram who is a former member of the Israeli parliament) and Salam Fayyad (former prime minister of the Palestinian Authority) participated to ether in a class session. They discussed issues related to the conflict in front of an en a ed, passionate, and peaceful audience of more than 500 students and others. While in the last several months there have certainly been examples of hateful and intolerant speech on campus, we are heartened by the participation of students in these meanin ful conversations.

We want to encoura e the continued focus of our community on critical inquiry and constructive dialo ue across disa reements. Everyone has a part to play in that. The encampment, with its rope lines and perimeter of tents, is physically set up not to invite discussion but to shut out those who disa ree.”

With this messa e, university leadership is explicitly, ne atively positionin an inclusive and intersectional protest that could instead be seen as an “en a ed, passionate, and peaceful” mode of dialo ue, like the course they celebrated above.

A faculty member, upon readin this White Plaza update, reacted with the followin remarks:

"I think that [the description of the encampment as shutting out disagreement is] factually untrue. For example, I stopped y yesterday, and chatted with a kidlet who politely came up while I was reading and said hello, and there is a clear path from the perimeter to the center of the encampment. It's also not that ig an encampment to egin with. I also noticed that the adjoining lawn was a protest action re: the hostages. That is unaddressed y the letter, ut it seems like it would also e not designed to encourage discussion y those who disagree, according to this letter? Is there a mandate now for protests to have an explicit discussion component for disagreements within itself, rather than the protest sparking discussion, like the encampment did and does? [...] I was also struck y the example given of the Israeli and Palestinian politicians talking to each other while students watched. While I think it's great that they talked to each other, and we invited them, and students watched, having elite authority figures speaking while our students are their audience is not the only way to model learning, ut I think it's telling that it's used as the positive example in this letter criticizing a space where students and others are coming together to hash out knotty issues of violence, politics, and accounta ility in pu lic view."

COMMUNICATION AS CATALYST

In a conversation with the MAP committee about messa in from the university at this time, senior leadership of University Communications noted that many people see communications as the startin point of a story; whereas in reality, communications often come at the tail end, when there is somethin to tell a story about.

The committee empathizes with this perspective and understands the difficult position of university communicators. Communications are indeed at the tail end of many of the systemic institutional failures described in this report. If communications mirror what's happenin at the university, their words cannot reflect back thin s that are not actually there.

However, we push back on the notion that communications are a passive culmination and not a catalyst. The committee believes that university communications can be aspirational as well as reflective and can chart a better, more equitable path forward that does not further institutionalize asymmetry or perpetuate insensitivity. We believe Stanford can put forth communications that are not just an end but a be innin ; that are not just a mirror but a li ht.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Be consistent, between both words and words (e. . if statin neutrality, refrain from publishin multiple statements that indicate otherwise) and between words and actions (e. . if statin neutrality, refrain from supportin politically char ed events in a lopsided manner durin a sensitive time).

- Refrain from intentionally or inadvertently suppressin content about Palestine and avoid the impression that only "both sides" stories are published when Palestine is concerned.

- Listen to and levera e community leaders while workin on university-wide or lar e-audience communications, particularly if they are about sensitive issues durin a sensitive time. We understand that not every decision-makin room can be representative, and yet believe that university leadership can enlist and levera e and trust their faculty and staff to support them in this process. The last ei ht months have illuminated the myriad ways the university itself could be spared a world of pain if it simply spoke to committees such as this one before issuin messa es that the community found unsympathetic, insensitive, or inaccurate.

- Consider different standards for coverin events, talks, etc. in the Stanford Report so that news stories feature the variety of perspectives that already exist at Stanford (despite the aps identified in this report). This will necessitate reportin on complex lobal issues as they are en a ed by Stanford humanities scholars, social scientists, writers, historians, and the like—and avoidin a reliance on narrowly policy-focused events.

- Avoid participatin in the levels of erasure seen in mainstream media, which follows press books such as the Associated Press Style Guidelines that state, "Use Palestine only in the context of Palestine's activities in international bodies to which it has been admitted. Do not use Palestine or the state of Palestine in other situations, since it is not a fully independent, unified state." As a locus—and enerator—of research and knowled e, the university should be mindful of the lan ua e it uses to refer to the re ion and its people across all its communications.

"In all these communications, they think for some reason that whether the violence happens by the state or a non-state armed roup is a distinction that somehow matters. We're condemnin the violence, which is a violation of international law, even if the state does it. There's nothin about the fact that the violence comes from an "official overnment" that makes it immune to criticism." ***MAP Graduate Alum***

"They never stick to their promises. Richard Saller himself said they're not oin to make statements, and 24 hours later they did the enocide statement."
MAP Undergraduate

"Institutional neutrality, I et it and I kind of like that. I et that you can't necessarily condemn one side and not the other, so therefore you have to be more nuanced in what you do publicly–I accept that and am ok with that. But then you need to be consistent." ***MAP Alum***

"They say 'Islamophobia' when a quarter of their under rads comin from Palestine are Christian." ***MAP Undergraduate***

Repair the Rupture, Reimagine the Future

In a *Stanford Daily* interview published September 26, 2001, then-president John L. Hennessy said, “This [the events of 9/11] has sent a messa e to all educational institutions… that we are woefully i norant about not only the Islamic faith and culture, but of much of the Middle East. That part of the world is too important to i nore.”

While Stanford has certainly made reat strides in Islamic Studies since then, it has, as the last ei ht months have made painfully clear, missed the mark on “much of the Middle East.” For this reason, unlike durin other lobal crises, the university has not been able to sustain excellence in its core mission of teachin and research on one of the most pressin issues of today.

In 2023-24, under raduate and raduate students created what were, in effect, their own units for learnin and pro rammin : the sit-in and the encampment. These two structures offered readin s and events on Palestine in a tried and tested protest format. Under pressure from political advocacy that disa reed with the students’ ideas, the university chose to respond to these initiatives with radual and attritional enforcement of time, place, and manner restrictions.

The committee believes that, on the contrary, the student protest framework should be understood as an effort to create and share knowled e, to speak and protest, to invite expertise, and to enerate dialo ue. The students even called their sprin 2024 encampment a “university.” When our own students set up a university inside the university because our university isn’t doin the work it needs to, somethin is not ri ht. It is not too late. Our university can still rise to meet the challen e of this moment without fear or favor. Stanford’s foundin purpose demands it.

This committee report details a eneral chillin of speech, and specific actions to suppress speech, on one particular political topic: **Palestine**. On October 1, 2023, Provost Jenny Martinez said: “You can’t enerate knowled e and find truth in an environment where people aren’t free to try out ideas and challen e orthodoxy.” Whether a professor is instructed to take the word “ enocide” out of a uest’s conference presentation, or a student told their speech about apartheid is equivalent to a racial slur, or “McCarthyism” identified in the recruitment and retention of faculty, we write our final report with speech on campus less free than it was on October 1. Indeed, much of the harm that Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities have experienced at Stanford relates to speech: their restricted ability to “try out ideas and challen e orthodoxy;” the hateful and discriminatory speech they suffer, and the statements the university chooses to make—or not make—about issues concernin them.

We believe this “Palestine exception” runs contrary to the stated values of the university and its leaders and is counterproductive. We simply will not be able to “contribute to the world by educatin students for lives of leadership and contribution with inte rity” if we teach them throu h our actions and our choices that there are some topics that are off limits. If Stanford si nals in its admissions applications that protest is unwelcome, if teams or units en a e in viewpoint discrimination, and if we have no relevant senior scholars on campus, then students will et the messa e: either enroll and keep quiet about Palestine, or choose somewhere else to pursue truth.

Our students need us to do better. We all need this university to do better. And indeed Stanford can do better. Current university leadership rose to the occasion by implementin and empowerin this committee so we could understand and document the rupture that has taken place between MAP communities and the university. It is now our hope that this report and its many recommendations, coupled with the support of Stanford, can provide a way forward for the necessary repair needed to reima ine thrivin Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian scholarly and social communities on campus. We do not need to wait for another eopolitical crisis or contentious election to once a ain realize that we are behind on scholarship and representation from these re ions. With si nificant investment, Stanford can enerate critical knowled e and research, foster a thrivin campus for Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities and teach all students to help shape a more equitable world.

RECOMMENDATIONS TIMELINE

1 YEAR

REPRESENTATION AND STRUCTURAL SUPPORT	• Ensure any new essay question for under raduate applicants does not threaten to screen out activists • Provide more support to incomin students, especially those comin from war-torn countries. • Offer five scholarships to admitted Palestinian under raduates	• Convert the MAP Committee into a permanent Advisory Council • Provide fundin and space for rowth and stability of the Markaz • Expedite throu h VPUE and OAE the academic accommodations process for students in crisis, especially those from war-torn countries.
SAFETY	• Clarify a swift process for issuin timely campus-wide emails and responses to serious harm incidents.	• Allow anyone on campus to opt in to DeleteMe, and make le al services available when doxxin occurs.
FREEDOM OF SPEECH	• Consult with MAP experts on interpretation of Palestinian/ Muslim expressions and advocacy.	• Do not authorize either DPS or external police arrests of peaceful
VIBRANT DISCOURSE **SCHOLARSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION**	• Empower existin untenured faculty and staff workin in the areas of Palestine and Arab studies and teachin Arabic	• Brin three faculty members or raduate students from Palestinian universities to Stanford each year on fellowships.
COMMUNICATIONS	• Be consistent in communications.	

The followin table is a synthesis of our recommendations split up into one-year, five-year, and ten-year oals. In our chapters, we offer substantive details on how Stanford can accomplish each of these tasks. Our oal in presentin them as follows is to underscore that a si nificant investment is necessary and possible early on - within one year - and that this initial investment will enable the university to do the work required across the next decade.

- Standardize reli ious accommodations and spaces for Muslim students
- Provide fundin for improved and more robust mental health services throu h MMHI, SMMHIP, and CAPS
- Prepare Bechtel and Immi rants Ri hts Clinic (IRC) in advance for another potential Muslim Ban
- Provide fundin for improved and more robust mental health services throu h MMHI, SMMHIP, and CAPS.
- Direct all career services offices to take steps to protect students from employment harassment and discrimination.

- Place a moratorium on serious disciplinary sanctions for time, place, and manner violations.

- Eliminate viewpoint-based suppression of pro-Palestine speech.

- Implement first year of pro ram to brin three faculty members or raduate students from Palestinian universities to Stanford on fellowships.

RECOMMENDATIONS TIMELINE

5 YEARS

REPRESENTATION AND STRUCTURAL SUPPORT	• Improve MAP experience in the residences by workin with the Markaz to institutionalize trainin , policy clarification, and application, etc. • Prioritize local and lobal outreach to MAP students throu h Office of Admissions	• Expedite the creation of a MAP/ MAP-adjacent staff affinity roup • Explore possible initiatives under IDEAL to recruit staff with diverse back rounds and expertise and levera e expertise of staff from MAP communities.
SAFETY	• Improve administrative enforcement processes.	• Increase the transparency of student disciplinary processes
FREEDOM OF SPEECH	• Clarify speech protection for all different sections of the Stanford community.	• Revise existin time, place, and manner restrictions to expand opportunities for speech.
VIBRANT DISCOURSE **SCHOLARSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION**	• Run three well-resourced searches across three years - startin with Palestine Studies in 2025-26. • Invest in administrative support, centers, units, and academic-teachin	• Develop a holistic vision for a Center in Stanford Global Studies.
COMMUNICATIONS	• Listen to and levera e community leaders on university-wide communications	• Develop a better way of usin the Stanford Report for MAP events.

The followin table is a synthesis of our recommendations split up into one-year, five-year, and ten-year oals. In our chapters, we offer substantive details on how Stanford can accomplish each of these tasks. Our oal in presentin them as follows is to underscore that a si nificant investment is necessary and possible early on—within one year—and that this initial investment will enable the university to do the work required across the next decade.

	10 YEARS
• Appoint an ad hoc or special committee to make recommendations to the Board of Trustees on both its diversity of expertise and experience and its racial and ethnic diversity.	• Improve data collection instruments and opportunities for more accurate demo raphic data on MAP communities at Stanford. • Work with the Markaz, MAP staff, and alumni to offer workshops for students who want to learn how they can enact chan e at the university and have a seat at the table.
• Establish protocols restrictin communicatin with federal law enforcement, immi ration, and security a encies.	
	• Eliminate the Palestine exception to free speech. • Train and audit units encounterin speech suppression. • Endow the fellowship pro ram for scholars from Palestinian universities. • Make Palestine and Arab Studies the reason people come to Stanford by investin at a scale equivalent to 10 new tenured lines over a decade.

This report was designed by Salameh Studio.